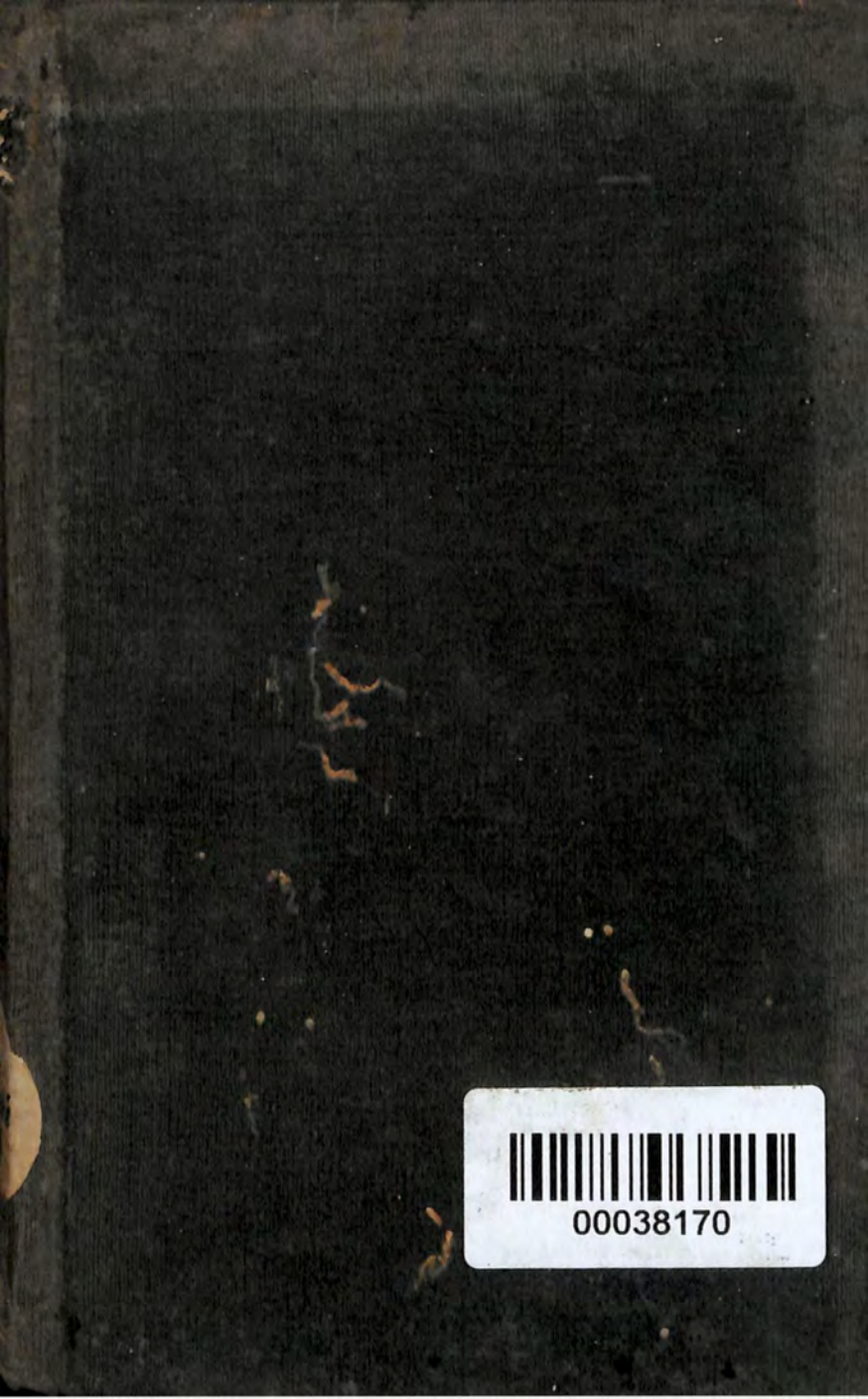
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SWITZERLAND

IN 1847:

AND ITS CONDITION,

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, MORAL, AND PHYSICAL,

BEFORE THE WAR.

38170

BY THEODORE MÜGGE.

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EDITED BY

MRS. PERCY SINNETT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

It appears necessary to state that the present Translation is greatly abridged from the Original—not by the omission of any one chapter—but by the general condensation of the whole work, which was thought, in some points, unnecessarily diffuse, especially since the rapid course of affairs in Switzerland has rendered obsolete many speculations concerning what some months ago appeared the probable course of events.

From this cause, perhaps, the author was somewhat more in haste to publish his work than he would otherwise have been, and has occasionally run out to greater length than he might have deemed advisable on a more thoughtful revision. According to the old excuse of the voluminous correspondent, he has written a long book, because he had not time to write a short one.

Mr. Theodore Mügge, though never yet, I believe, introduced to the English public,* has for some years past been favourably known in Germany as the author of several works on Norway, Denmark, &c., which have met with general and deserved approbation. The present one appears chiefly valuable for the quantity of information it contains on a complicated and difficult subject, and the picture it presents of a political and social condition, now in all probability about to suffer very material changes, if not to pass away for ever, but which must, nevertheless, exercise a powerful influence in modifying the future character and history of Switzerland.

The reader is requested, in such passages as relate to the state of parties, to bear in mind the events of the last two months, and to remember that the author's "*now*" refers generally to the earlier part of the year 1847.

May I be permitted also to express a hope that I may not be considered responsible for all the opinions of Mr. Mügge, with some of

* Except in the notice of his present work in the last Number of the Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review.

which, as for instance the approbation he bestows on the celebrated expeditions of the Free Corps to Lucerne, I find it impossible to agree.

But, as he appears to be a most candid and honest observer and narrator of facts, it is perhaps of little importance if we do not always agree with the inferences he has drawn from them. The course taken by the party now triumphant in Switzerland, though in many particulars little justifiable, may ultimately prove beneficial even to those who have suffered defeat; possibly more beneficial to them than to their conquerors.

A storm has swept through those still valleys, where ages, long past to the rest of the world, seemed yet to linger; and its course, though momentarily destructive, may be succeeded by a purified atmosphere and a more vigorous growth.

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SWITZERLAND

IN 1847.

CHAPTER I.

From Mannheim to Switzerland—The Swiss Frontier—Physical Resemblances—Differences in Popular Character and Mode of Life—Foreigners in Switzerland—Hotels—Extortion—System of Swiss Mountains—Races and Languages—Parties and People.

STEAMBOATS and Railroads transport the traveller now, in little more than a day, from the banks of the Rhine to Switzerland.

Leaving Cologne early in the morning, he reaches Mannheim before the next sunrise, can dine in Freiburg (in Baden), and find himself comfortably established in Schaffhausen in the evening; or, if he should prefer going by Strasburg to Basle, he may reach that city in the same time. Thus easy has travelling become. As we fly along, we see places, formerly separated by wide tracts, crowded together, we hear by the way many pathetic complaints of sentimental people concerning the destruction of all the poetry

of travelling—but wish nevertheless that the trains could manage to go—a *little faster*.

From year to year the Rhine, that great high road for all nations, becomes more and more crowded; more and more considerable the human freight that every railroad and every steamer carries up and down; and the summer of 1846, when I began my tour, was so favourable, so sunny, warm, and unchangeable, that it invited a greater number of visitors than usual to that enchanting mountain-land of rocks, and glaciers, and waterfalls, and pastures of living emerald, that lies between Germany and France and Italy.

The object of attraction to me, however, was not in the present instance the beauty and magnificence of Nature—not so much Switzerland, as the Swiss—and for this reason I hurried forward that I might not lose the opportunity of being present at a great national festival that was to take place in Schaffhausen on the 14th and 15th of June. It was the Great Choral Association, to which most of the musical societies in the various cantons contribute their "*contingent*."

Free Switzerland!—I knew well how many

contradictions this expression involved; I knew what passionate exaggerations have been employed in its favour by one party—what falsehood and calumny resorted to, to depreciate it, by the other. I have now looked closely into the character of this freedom, and can bear my testimony that, though it involves many things that one would wish altered, it has still the elements of sound and vigorous health.

For six hundred years it has maintained itself in its republican form in the very midst of monarchical and despotically-governed states; it has had strength to resist struggles from within and countless storms from without, and has still vigour enough to commence a new era of better and truer liberty.

Whatever we may have to say against Switzerland, we cannot deny that it possesses an energetic political life, that we look for in vain among its neighbours. It has unconditional freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of association, a willingness to co-operate for all objects in which co-operation is required, and a lively interest in all departments of public affairs. A deep con-

sciousness of his rights as a freeman dwells alike in the breast of every Swiss, however uncultivated, whether herdsman, farmer, or mechanic, and even in the districts of Germany which lie next to Switzerland its influence in this respect is very perceptible. In the Black Forest, in Baden, we find a robust, intelligent race of men, who have both the will and the power to compare their position with that of their republican neighbours.

The physical character of the two countries is in this part the same; there is the same hilly conformation, the same fruitful soil, bringing forth the same productions. The people are obviously of the same race, their idiom, their customs, their characters have the most complete resemblance. Yet how different has been their history! Here we find subjects of a Grand Duke, there citizens of a republic; who, instead of having a costly apparatus of a court with all its appendages to maintain, find the whole amount of their pecuniary obligations to the state included in the sum of about eighteen pence sterling per head.

Yet you may step across the frontier with-

out observing it, or if you did, it would be only because you are stopped by no gend'armes; no policeman inquires after your passport, or puts his head into your carriage to look after articles liable to duty; you pass a custom-house perhaps, but it is one belonging to the Grand Duke, who will let anything out (only nothing in); and then you jog on quietly into the city of Schaffhausen, without any great man taking the least notice of you.

Switzerland closes her frontier by no line of police or custom-house officers; that is the first beneficent sign of her freedom, and this gives a comfortable feeling to the traveller as he rolls along the well-kept road into the pleasant old town, with its painted, gable-roofed houses, and its air of the Holy Roman Empire. Like many of the Swiss cities, it has little appearance of internal activity; but six or seven thousand men live in their old-fashioned, quiet way, as their forefathers did before them, seldom disturbed by any new growth of time.

In Freiburg it is surprising what new life the railroad has brought in, how it is building and increasing on all sides. There is nothing of this in Schaffhausen; but it has one pecu-

liar source of profit in common with nearly all Switzerland, namely, the troops of strangers who flock to it from all parts of Europe, and whose appearance is watched for as anxiously as in some countries huntsmen and fishers watch for shoals of fish or flights of migratory birds. A good summer brings travellers by thousands, a bad one drives away the gold-dropping visitants; and since every Swiss brings with him into the world, planted deep in his inmost soul, the instinct of money-getting, a rainy season is felt as a national calamity.

The Swiss are a prudent, moderate, saving, calculating nation; indeed I can hardly imagine such a thing as a Swiss spendthrift possible; and they are all well aware of how much of the prosperity of Switzerland depends on the influx of visitors.

There are, it is true, parts of the country where a stranger is scarcely ever seen, and where the people yet manage to live, indeed live often much better than in those where they are demoralised and filled with a greedy desire of gain by the perpetual passage of strangers; but in the regular routes all tra-

vellers must make up their minds to be delivered up as a prey to the innkeepers, who, without the help of oaths or acts of congress, have formed the firmest league amongst themselves.

The coalition has nevertheless not been without public formalities; for, as it was found that on account of the shameful extortion to which they were exposed the stream of visitors, especially of the English, threatened to dry up, the owners of the first hotels had a meeting, in which they agreed on a price current, according to which guests were to be treated. The names of these allied innkeepers, and of their houses, are to be found in every guide book, and whether the house be good or bad, large or small, furnished with every luxury or barely provided with necessaries, the price to be paid is always the same; the only difference ever made depending upon the nation the traveller belongs to. The Englishman pays most of all, then the Russian, then the Frenchman, then the German; and the Swiss we may be sure the least, but he is seldom to be met with at the first hotels. The Englishman is of course not always satisfied with his place at the top of this scale; and sometimes

also, it cannot be denied that, notwithstanding their reputation for prodigality, the travelling English show themselves exceedingly stingy, and I have often enough witnessed amusing scenes between them and their hosts, in such cases; for, though nothing can exceed the politeness of the Swiss as long as he has a prospect of making anything by it, he can show himself determined enough if he sees symptoms of an inclination to resist his demands. His respect for money is, however, prodigious, and much will always be forgiven to a man who has the reputation of being wealthy.

The difficulties of the traveller in this country are greatly increased, and not unfrequently serious losses occasioned him, by the state of desperate confusion into which he is plunged by the differences in the currency. It varies in every canton; and, since there is no uniting power to effect an amalgamation of various interests, and make regulations with a view to the general welfare, and no feeling of national unity, each little state thinking and acting only with a view to its private advantage, and clinging to its right of sovereignty with all the obstinacy of petty selfishness, this evil is not very likely to be remedied.

Switzerland is not so much a federal state as a federation of states, in which the smallest member is at perfect liberty to act without regard to the general welfare. This is what must always be kept in mind, for it is the key to many of the present difficulties. This has been the grand cause of the struggle that has continued ever since 1830; the object of one party being to overthrow the present federal constitution, and replace it by another better adapted to the time, by which the national unity would be secured, and the will of the majority of the Swiss people rendered more efficient.

In this affair of the coinage, many attempts have been made to establish some more regular system; but they have not yet been successful.

In the year 1834, twelve cantons, Berne, Zurich, Lucerne, Glarus, Zug, Freiburg, Soleure, Basle, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Aargau, and Thurgau, entered into negociations, but with very little result. The utmost they could effect was a reform and equalisation of the weights and measures; and even this was rejected by some of the cantons. The money

has remained precisely as it was, and is never likely to be in a much better state until some alteration has taken place in the political relations of the various members of the Federation. But it must at the same time be remembered, that the position of Switzerland, between Italy, Germany, and France, would of itself be sufficient to occasion many difficulties of this kind. The western and south-western cantons, which stand in the most intimate commercial relations with France, naturally prefer the coinage of that country. The east and the north find that of Germany more convenient; and, in addition to these two systems, every little state has its own small money, that will not pass beyond its frontier: here we have *batzen* and *rapps*— there *kreutzers* and *schillings*, besides *sous*, and *centimes*, and *blutzgers*, and many others.

The French five-franc piece passes sometimes for six-and-thirty, sometimes for five-and-thirty, sometimes for four or even three-and-thirty *batzen*; and one has to reckon, now by guldens, now by Swiss francs, now by crowns or Milan *livres*; and the stranger generally finds that on every change he is a loser.

Before all things, let him beware of bringing Prussian money, whether gold, silver, or paper; for then the loss becomes quite too formidable. The real Swiss money it is often not easy to get, as Berne is the only canton that has a tolerably abundant currency; so that, perhaps, the most advisable plan on the whole is to furnish oneself with French napoleons and five-franc pieces, for these will always pass, though at different valuations; but with the Swiss coinage, it sometimes happens that if one has got it, one may keep it, as it will only pass in its native land.

The falls of the Rhine at Schaffhausen have been so often described, that I may spare myself and my readers any further remarks, than that, if they should happen to visit them, they would do well to cross to the left bank of the river, to the Castle of Laufen, and go along the gallery beneath the fall; for there only can they become aware of the immense mass of water, for which chiefly it is remarkable.

Seen from the right bank, it seems scarcely to deserve its reputation; but from this point, when you stand veiled in a shower of dazzling

water-drops, and see the heavy, solid-looking foam-lashed water, sinking—sinking for ever down—the eye is fascinated by the everlasting movement; the ground trembles and groans; and the spray, dashing itself against the rocks into glittering dust, sparkles in the sun like diamonds, and forms rainbows that fill the whole atmosphere with their radiant colours!

An error very common among strangers with respect to Switzerland, is to imagine it entirely a land of high rocks and mountains. This is by no means the case; for in the part lying next to Germany we find the same gentle hills and wooded slopes as in the neighbouring Baden, Wurtemberg, and Bavaria. The Black Forest is indeed much more rugged and mountainous than Switzerland until the Albis chain is reached, and the cantons of Schaffhausen, Basle, Aargau, Thurgau, Soleure, Zurich, and a great part of Berne and St. Gall, are merely steppe countries, whose highest points do not exceed two thousand feet, and which are adapted to the cultivation of all kinds of grain. The greater part of this hilly district rests on a bed of soft sandstone, which affords an excellent material for building; this is succeeded

by a rock of heterogeneous character, called *nagelflue*, consisting of fragments of marble, greywacke, and porphyry, held together in a paste of sand and chalk.

This *nagelflue* appears in immense masses just where the Swiss lakes commence; and near the Lake of Geneva it runs into mountains which extend through the cantons of Freiburg, Berne, Lucerne, Glarus, and St. Gall to the Lake of Constance. This chain has, near its centre, mountains between five and six thousand feet high; and it may be considered as the first mountain girdle of Switzerland. Behind this, to the south, the more recent formation of the Alpine chalk forms a higher chain, stretching also from the Lake of Geneva to that of the Four Cantons. The third mountain wall, principally of the transition chalk, extends from Mont Blanc to the Grisons, and to this chain belongs the enormous semicircle of gigantic peaks crowned with everlasting snow, which includes the Grossorn, the Jungfrau, the Finsteraarhorn, and many others, and mingles with the mightiest primitive range of granite, and gneiss, and slate, which fills the Tyrol and

forms the barrier between Switzerland and Italy.

It appears from this, that only a part of Switzerland, namely, the interior and southern part, is really the country of the High Alps; and that this rises ever higher and higher as it approaches Italy. Almost all the important cities, as well as the greater part of the cantons of which they are the capitals, lie in the milder and lower region: and here is the seat of all the manufacturing industry of Switzerland, as well as of its corn and wine. To reach the pastoral highlands, one must cross the *nagelfluе*, for in this and the succeeding ranges lie the cantons of Zug, Schwyz, Glarus, Appenzell, Uri, Unterwalden, Valais, the Grisons, and a part of St. Gall and Lucerne. Beyond the St. Gotthard, extending southward to the Lake of Lugano, lies Ticino, or Tessin, the Italian canton of Switzerland; the southern points of the canton of Grisons, where also Italian is spoken, reach to the Lake of Como.

The Alps on the Italian side descend precipitously into the plain of Lombardy, forming a striking contrast to the gentle decline

on the north; and even as suddenly does the Italian language commence. It could not apparently force a way beyond the mountain chain. At the foot of St. Gotthard, the Splugen, the Simplon, and all the mountain passes, the German tongue in all its native toughness opposes it; to the west, in Savoy, the French does the same, and with yet greater success. The long range of the Jura, with its continuation the Jorat, forms a natural wall of separation against the monarchy of the French; but language creates a powerful bond of union, so that Napoleon found it easy to annex a considerable portion of this country to his empire. Geneva, Neufchatel, and Vaud form the core of French Switzerland. In Freiburg the French language is triumphant; Berne possesses a portion of the Jura, which gives her also Catholic citizens speaking French; and the lower Valais is peopled by a French race; thus it is evident, contrary to the general opinion, that the prevalence of three different languages (or four, reckoning the Romanesque * of the Grisons) does not prevent the formation of one political body. It is true that, according to monarchical ideas of

* The Romana Rustica.

state unity and nationality, the Swiss have neither the one nor the other. Their political life is federal-republican, receiving its impulse from no common centre, but each part maintaining its independence, exercising sovereign rights within its own limits, and forming one organic body only for the common defence against internal and external danger. What in this system is faulty or defective has long been decided among the people themselves. But the citizens of Geneva, of Schaffhausen, Lausanne, Lugano, or Berne, feel that they are all Swiss, all parts of one whole, and this feeling is much stronger among them than foreigners believe. A love of freedom too is deeply rooted in every heart, is stronger than any cantonal separation, and would assuredly make itself felt on the first breath of foreign intervention.

The difference of language among them is perhaps of far less consequence than the difference of social development in the several cantons, the different modes of life, and, above all, the unhappy divisions between Catholics and Protestants, which are the most powerful obstacles to national unity. It is the mode of thinking on religious and political subjects

which draws people most strongly together; and in Switzerland, where the majority of the people make the laws, and see their will directly become deed; where the press is very nearly free, and the people independent, party strife takes unavoidably a much ruder and more energetic form than in monarchies, where an armed force, a strong police, official influence, and difference of rank, with its consequent ideas of the becoming and decorous, all tend to moderate the expression of opinion.

In Switzerland the hardy offspring of the soil flourishes in all its native vigour. There are vast differences to overcome, yet the threads of the social system lie far nearer to each other than in any other part of Europe. There is less distance between the president, burgomaster, schultheiss, or landamman, of one of these little republics, and the least of the citizens, than betweean German *geheimrath* and a German peasant. The *geheimrath* remains all his life a being of another species, while the schultheiss of Berne, or president of the confederation, after his four or six years of service, descends from his curule chair, and retires modestly to his counting-house, or his

country seat, whence he can only emerge at the call of his fellow-citizens.

Yet, nevertheless, the difference is still great between the herdsmen of Uri and Schwyz or the poor grass-mower, and the rich descendants of the old families, who have for centuries exercised a right of dominion over the pastoral cantons of interior Switzerland; and, in spite of their nominal democracy and much-cherished equality, the vilest tyranny is not unfrequent. The influence of birth and property is no where heavier than in those little democratic cantons whose institutions date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Poor, isolated, superstitious, and stultified by priest and leader, what an enormous gap there is between these shepherds and the educated and enlightened citizen of Lausanne, or Berne, or Zurich, or the banker of Geneva, who keeps his hotel in Paris! What a conflict of views and interests in life! How can one wonder that the wildest contradictions should jostle one another, or that a fanatical party should have succeeded in inflaming the people of the Forest Cantons by the cry "The holy Catholic religion is in danger!" against their greater,

wealthier, and more industrious Protestant neighbours! These rude and simple herdsmen and peasants believe all that their priests tell them, as devoutly as they did in 1799, when the latter stirred them up against the French in the name of God and the Virgin, and promised them the help of legions of angels.

In spite of the exertions of many of their governments since 1830, the mass of the Swiss people is still at a low grade of intellectual culture. In many cantons the old aristocratic party is far from subdued; in others it has been compelled to give way to the wealthier and better educated *tiers etat*, the lawyers, medical professors, landholders, merchants, and bankers. In some cantons, as in Basle and Geneva, the latter have obtained and hold fast the reins of government: but there and everywhere there exists a young Switzerland, resolutely bent on overthrowing the aristocracies of birth and money, and establishing a democracy, where the people as such shall have sovereign sway, and uproot the ancient federative relations. Whether, under the present circumstances, with their very different degrees of mental culture, glaring religious

antagonisms, and the bitterness of party spirit, such a thing is possible, we shall afterwards inquire. In the mean time Vaud, and the neighbouring canton of Berne, have already set the example of abandoning the old paths of middle-age institutions, and substituting a political edifice, founded on modern ideas of freedom and equality.

For centuries the yoke of the cities has lain heavily upon the country; and in the greater part it has been thrown off only so lately as since 1830. To speak of the free Swiss *people* was, before that period, an absurdity—the cities alone were free, and in these only a caste of old citizens, who, with their clients and partisans, formed the state, and found their support in the numerous privileges and immunities of the townspeople. But when in 1830 the discontent of the more cultivated and clear-sighted of the citizens overthrew this family rule, the freedom so extorted went further than was agreeable to many; for it stretched in many of the more powerful states far beyond the city walls, and the country people struggled for and obtained an equality of civil rights. This was a change

which the citizens could neither forget nor forgive. The old *pigtail* still stuck too fast to their heads, turn them how they would; and the clearer the peasants' conviction of their rights became, the more their numbers told in the numerical superiority of their disputes, the easier it proved to break down the last barrier of privilege between town and country, and the higher rose the discontent of the town party with the new order of things.

The progress-men aim at republican equality, the overthrow of the federative system, and the hotly disputed pact of 1815, which the Swiss say was forced upon Switzerland by the great powers with the help of the Berne aristocracy. This young, daring, vehement, stormy party, whose members are all more or less longing for action, is triumphant in Zurich, Berne, Vaud, Glarus, Aargau, Appenzell-outer-Rhodes, Soleure, Tessin, and lately even in Geneva; it finds, nevertheless, vigorous opposition in the aristocracies of birth and wealth, in the powerful priesthood, in many of the old citizens of the towns, many of the greater landholders in the country, and among all in short who have any thing to give up or to lose by

the proposed changes. The mass of the wealthier classes, manufacturers, and merchants, will never belong to the movement party; many would even join the opposition if it once came to a proposal for the admission of all the poorer and the poorest to absolute civic equality.

A cursory glance at the elements composing the contending parties will show us here men aiming at national unity and popular freedom, there the old reigning caste and their partisans; here the priests and the influence of Rome, and there modern Protestant fanaticism; the influence of France, of Austria, and of the old half-decaying, half-vigorous spirit of the past still struggling to maintain itself in a thousand customs and usages; the younger and more cultivated part of society struggling to put it down; the press now following, now leading, and under the guidance of all sorts of hands, capable and incapable. We shall find also very different degrees of developement in the various parties; here industry, wealth, trade, manufacture of all kinds, and close beside them the Alps and the Alpine herdsmen; here agriculture and cattle-

breeding in their highest excellence, and a few miles further, bare rocky summits and eternal snow. The wonderful variety which external nature displays in Switzerland, where the glacier and the orange-tree are side by side, is not less apparent in its human life. Switzerland is a microcosm. In these five-and-twenty little states we have a miniature resemblance of all the phases of social life; and, if they present no example worthy to be followed as a whole, there is still much in their detail that will most abundantly repay our study.

CHAPTER II.

The Canton of Schaffhausen—The Great Council—Sovereignty of the People—Ruling Families—The Commonalty—The Clergy and their Power — National Musical Festival in Schaffhausen—Popular Festivals in Switzerland, and their Signification—Orators.

INSIGNIFICANT as the canton of Schaffhausen has always been in the history of Switzerland, it has yet more celebrated names to show than the half-forgotten pastoral cantons still brooding over the recollections of the thirteenth century. Schaffhausen is the birthplace of Johannes Müller, —one in his kind of more worth, some may think, than the marksman of Uri; but the little canton would, it is true, never have been guided by the historian to the attainment of greater freedom than its existing relations permitted. The patriarchal element was originally forced upon the aristocracy of this city; the country obeyed the sceptre of the town, as that of an authority established by the grace of God, and both together followed the various changes of Switzerland, vegetating in peace and material well-being, till the year 1830 introduced some innovations. A constitutional assembly met,

and in 1834 the fruit of its labours was accepted by the people, and ratified by the Great Council. According to this constitution, whose fundamental principle is the sovereignty of the people, every male citizen of twenty years of age has the suffrage. Bankrupts, persons in the receipt of public charity, or those under guardianship, or lying under criminal accusation or sentence, are excepted. The Great Council exercises the highest authority in the name of the people, which consists of seventy-eight members, the town choosing eighteen of these members, the country sixty, who must be twenty-five years old.

The Great Council has the exclusive right of legislation, levies the taxes and directs their application, as well as chooses a smaller council from its own members to form the executive.

In Schaffhausen there has long existed an assumption of authority in particular families, an authority silently appropriated and quietly acquiesced in, as the power illegitimately acquired was not tyrannously exercised. These self-constituted masters were the less inclined to refuse compliance with the wish for some

change in constitutional forms, as they might reasonably hope that their unnamed powers would suffer no great injury from them; and they were not mistaken. The aristocracy, by means of their wealth and their territorial possessions, by the help of their influence over the twelve guilds and companies, by the indifference of the people, and the assistance of their priestly allies, have the government still in their own hands. They possess the majority in the Great Council, fill the offices of burgomaster and all the higher employments with patricians and their dependants, give themselves no great trouble about their financial responsibilities, and alter the laws as seems good in their eyes; but at the same time carefully avoid any invasion of material interests that would discontent the mass of the people. In the Diet, Schaffhausen has seldom united her voice with that of the liberal cantons; but has rather inclined to the Catholic retrograde party, or maintained a dumb neutrality which has frequently rendered her an object of derision.

The popular festivals in Switzerland, the rifle-shooting clubs, and other numerous societies which have been established since 1815,

have had the greatest share in the political changes subsequent to 1830, and still operate powerfully, both as a means of rousing the people and of strengthening the common feeling of freedom and nationality. The ruling powers have been by no means insensible to the dangers that threatened them from these gatherings, where discontent could make itself heard, and leagues might be formed for other objects: but they were powerless to hinder them. Now, when the first and greatest cantons have joined the radical party, the chief men among them belong to these societies, or have risen from them. Executive councillors, burgomasters, and magistrates are to be found in their ranks; their meetings are points of union for the liberal party, and they contain its very kernel in men who have courage and energy enough to embody their words in action. The middle classes and the youth of Switzerland form the bulk of these unions; but the aristocracy, whether of birth or wealth, keep entirely aloof.

My first introduction to these festivals was, as I have said, in Schaffhausen, on the 14th and 15th of June, 1846, when the National Vocal Festival was celebrated. From

far and near streamed in the numerous guests, and the singers, and not from the Swiss towns alone, but from many neighbouring German ones also, and the quiet old city had assumed its best and gayest attire to give a cordial welcome to its friends. The old stone houses were bright with foliage and flowers, the streets were hung with garlands, the gates decorated with triumphal arches; inscriptions, most various in character, friendly welcomes, praises of their native land, exhortations to unity, to freedom, and to courage, were to be seen in a hundred places. On the evening before, and in the early morning, bands of singers were seen entering from the Rhine, from the Lake of Constance, some in private some in public carriages. On every side flags waved, the shout and the song were heard, and from every door and window citizens and ladies greeted the new comers with waving handkerchiefs.

The impression made by all this gaiety was a most agreeable surprise to me; it was or appeared a festival of brotherhood and universal joy, before which all party-spirit was hushed. What had we not heard in Germany of the wild sanguinary excesses

of the Swiss! What an awe of their turbulence and ferocity had the tales and correspondence of some newspapers inspired! The press at all times distorts and exaggerates much; but here the organs of the servile and Ultramontane party had been guilty of shameful misrepresentation; from their accounts foreigners could scarcely think otherwise than that a half-frantic populace had obtained the upper hand, and were trampling all right and order under foot, amid the whistling of bullets and the clash of knives. The groundlessness of the calumny was here made manifest; for, although the greater part of the singers came from cantons where radicalism had struck its deepest roots, and not a few must have looked on the dull remissness of Schaffhausen with no favourable eye, not a disparaging syllable was heard, the rights and duties of hospitality were respected, and not the slightest disturbance took place. It had been particularly requested to avoid all subjects of discord at this festival, but the request was scarcely necessary.

Every one was pleased, for all the inhabitants of Schaffhausen, without exception, met their guests with ready kindness, invited many

to their houses, and did all in their power to make their abode agreeable. What a contrast to the festival held on the same days at Cologne! In Schaffhausen, the Committee for the festival, at the head of which was the first magistrate of the canton, the reigning burgomaster, Herr von Waldkirch, had provided abundantly for all; and the state and city authorities seemed to vie with one another in doing honour to the patriotic gathering. In Cologne there was nothing but discord, and melancholy proofs of how little in Germany we are able to raise ourselves above the divisions of our social relations; to overcome our alienation from and want of sympathy with those esteemed inferiors; and how incapable we are in fact of celebrating a people's festival; we, who have neither a people nor popular life. In the great market-place of the town, the Lords'-field *(Herrenacker)*, where formerly the knightly dwellers in Schaffhausen held their chivalric sports, the temporary buildings for the fête had been erected at the expense of the town. Here were assembled between eight and nine hundred singers, at a joyous banquet prolonged to a late hour of the summer's

night; and here were made the political speeches never wanting at a Swiss gathering. Before the tents, fluttered the federal standard, a white cross in a circular field, round which were grouped the flags of the assembled bands. The president of the society, Herr von Schenkel, a man highly esteemed by his countrymen, opened the proceedings by a very good speech, the substance of which was, that Switzerland formed an island of freedom, amid the surging multitudes of Europe, and need not dread the battle, wherein the prize of victory must remain with true freedom; but the indifference, the indolence, the sloth, whose rest is death.

After Schenkel, several speakers touched in a few energetic words on the prevailing want of unanimity and its causes. Benz of Zurich inveighed against the Jesuits and their attempts to stultify and enslave the people; Seminary Director Keller of Aarau followed in the same strain, and prophesied the ultimate triumph of the good cause from the increasing love of song. Pastor Sprungli, from Thalwyl on the lake of Zurich, displayed real ability as a popular orator, and made a humorous speech full of witty allusions to passing events,

amid universal applause. Nor were their kindly hosts of Schaffhausen forgotten,—their ready hospitality, and the industry that, in spite of many obstacles, had changed their country to one blooming garden.

I confess the oratory had great attraction for me. The speeches sprung at once from the heart, unchecked by fear of a watchful and suspicious government; there was no occasion for a jesuitical turning of phrases to escape subsequent calling to account. All were free to listen and free to speak, and even when, according to Swiss ideas, a speaker was far from radical in his sentiments, no one thought of taking amiss what was manfully and frankly uttered.

The general feeling of brotherhood among the Swiss, and the fondness with which they cling to their old historical recollections, was very striking at this Schaffhausen festival, and it must be admitted also that there was considerable incense offered to Swiss vanity, both in song and speech. Not a speaker but began with "true-hearted confederates," or failed to bring in something about Swiss faith, valour, purity of morals, love of freedom, &c. However, I do not know that other nations are

much behind them in this respect. In our festivals and after-dinner speeches, God knows how many admirable qualities we Germans give ourselves credit for; and not a public dinner is given in Berlin or elsewhere in the state, which is, *par excellence*, the chosen abode of intelligence, where some burgomaster or councillor does not be-compliment the noble people of somewhere or other, and give a thundering *vivat* to his toast of "Forwards!"

As a matter of course, Tell, Winkelried, Melchthal, and others of the Swiss worthies, were paraded unceasingly, with sometimes the addition of a passage from Müller's history, or a verse from Schiller's William Tell. Tell is, indeed, the weak point of the Swiss. They believe every tittle concerning him with the most resolute faith, and will not hear of any critical investigation on the subject.

The French and English take their past history by no means so much to heart as these republicans. They think of those ages mostly, if they think of them at all, as of a period of slavery, happily long past; in Germany, on the other hand, many a head is still haunted

by the half-fabulous Arminius; and how many partisans have not the "glorious middle ages" still amongst us, with their knights, and castles, and fair damsels, and, above all, their "simple faith" and "ancient truth!"

The Swiss in their romantic flights have certainly this to say for themselves, that their heroes did really fight for a good cause, and did rid the country of its tyrants. What followed, and how soon they got new tyrants in their place, and new shame and ignominy called for a new redemption, they do not care to remember; nothing is more difficult for a people of German race than to be clear, and true to themselves, and shake off all self-delusion in speech and sentiment. A good share of the blame perhaps belongs to our poets. It sounds so pretty to sing of German strength and truth, or to remind the Confederates of 1846 of the *morning stars* and battle-axes of Sempach and Morgarten.

In spite of their coldness and sobriety, the Swiss have a lingering affection for the "good old times," so many of whose rags and tatters still cling about them to the present day; and this feeling never fails to show itself when

occasion serves, if only in sticking a few fellows at the gates, with barret caps, false beards, and enormous pikes. At the Schaffhausen festival a couple of broad-shouldered fellows, in middle-age costume, with long spears, and grim visages smeared with red paint, stood as sentinels at the gates, and were greeted with uproarious applause as the singers passed out to the Rhine-fall, where a mannikin Tell, fastened to the rock, stretched his unerring bow. The harmony of so many manly voices however mingling with the thunder of the fall, the glorious blue of the heavens, the brilliant sunshine, and the morning air, so fresh, so fragrant, altogether really produced an effect that left few hearts unmoved.

The grand musical contest took place in the principal church, and here sat the judges, to distribute prizes and gifts of honour, furnished by the society or by individuals. Among the prizes I noticed nine silver chalices, flags, musical instruments, pictures, and a pipe of Kletgau wine. With respect to the singing, I think that a similar society in Germany would take far higher musical rank. The Swiss are not so much artists as natural singers. Many

have fine voices, but they are wanting in artistical cultivation; and, withal, they have to contend with the difficulties of a harsh dialect, at all times disagreeable to a German ear, and especially so in singing. This is, perhaps, the cause of their having hitherto done so little for the art, and furnished so few singers or musical artists. But they love music, and now zealously cultivate it, and, with praiseworthy ambition, make national songs and composition a chief object of study. The Society of Winterthur gained the first prize; then came Kussnacht; and thirdly Zurich; and several of the German societies who were there as guests also received their share in gifts of honour, and might go home again well contented.

In the evening the town was illuminated, and cannon thundered from the old Roman castle, called the Munot, which is an object of itself well worth seeing. This singular edifice stands on a hill, and consists of one enormous round tower, surrounded by a moat. The interior forms a casemate, supported on heavy stone pillars, on which the platform rests. Dark subterranean passages

intersect the basement of the tower. A winding staircase leads to the battlements, which are so extensive that several hundred men would have space enough to move on them; and there is a splendid view from them of the mountain-chains and valleys of Switzerland and Germany. A society, called the Munot Society, has been formed for the preservation of the old fortress; and it was on the invitation of its members that the singers now came within its walls. The winding staircase and casemate were illuminated; the dripping free-stone wall gleamed in the lamp-light; and boughs and garlands were suspended above; tables were spread with refreshments; and a chorus from the height of Munot greeted the town, glittering in festive light below. The spirit of rejoicing was everywhere; and, perhaps, a faint shudder in more hearts than one —for, of course, the castle is haunted! and mysterious bells are heard at times summoning the warriors whose bones have long since mouldered into dust.

CHAPTER III.

The Canton of Zurich—Intellectual Centre of Switzerland—Immense Population—Glance at Swiss History—The Old Swiss Freedom—Old Institutions—Serfdom of the Country-people—Subject-territories.

THE day after the festival I left Schaffhausen for Zurich, which I reached in five or six hours. The road by Eglisau is the most agreeable, more varied with hill and wood; but it is not till the bridge of Eglisau is passed, and the road on its left bank of the river narrowed by deep strata of sandstone rock, that you feel yourself really in Switzerland. Of mountains, properly so called, there is indeed no trace, for this is still the foreground of the Alps. Zurich is one of the richest and best cultivated cantons, and almost too populous; for in a space of 6851 square miles it maintains 234,000 people. Every inch of ground is made use of; every improvement in the arts of tilling and manuring the land is instantly adopted. This unwearying diligence, united to love of order, is very generally cha-

racteristic of the German Swiss, all whose powers and efforts are directed to gain; but here it is no light matter for a poor man to save the purchase-money of a piece of ground, as, although very minutely divided, it is excessively dear.

The admirable condition of the roads is one of the first things that strikes the traveller on entering Zurich, and this is a merit which belongs to all the great cantons under liberal governments. Great attention has been paid and no cost spared for years on these necessary improvements, which moreover are attended by extraordinary difficulties in mountainous countries. The revenues of these little states are small; but economy and order prevail, nothing is wasted on useless consumers and their retainers, an exact account must be rendered of the employment of the public funds, and the press exercises its control inexorably, so that many things are rendered easy which would be impossible in a monarchy. Last of all, Switzerland has *no public debt;* and, while at this present time the greatest sovereigns find it difficult to raise a loan, Switzerland would find no difficulty whatever,

for her credit is higher than any other; but she has no need of foreign assistance.

Zurich is the intellectual centre of Switzerland. No other canton has attained such manifold development, or reckons so great a number of learned and cultivated men; no other is so favoured by nature; for fruitfulness of the soil and mildness of climate are united to the activity of commerce and industry. It is fortunate also that the great majority of the citizens are of German descent, and followers of Zwingli, so that the government is more sure of sufficient support in its measures than some others, and the city of Zurich, itself a centre of union for the numerous travellers through Switzerland, is full of life and movement, and a place where talent of almost any kind can find a sphere of operation, or means of advancement.

Berne, in the prosperous times of its aristocracy twice as large as Zurich, had by its power in the field obtained at one time the first rank in the Confederation, though not without opposition from Zurich. The patrician races of the latter state could not make head against those of Berne, who had never

sullied their nobility with trade, and who looked down in scorn on the shop-keeping nobles of Zurich. By degrees, however, the intellectual superiority of the Zurichers became incontestable. Many of the richer citizens employed themselves in the milder arts of peace; their sons went to the universities; while those of Berne strutted as pages in the courts of princes, or lavished their blood on the battle-fields of Europe in the service of absolute monarchs, and came back to their native land steeped to the lips in the pride and tyrannical spirit of those corrupt times.

Perhaps this would be the proper place to take a rapid survey of the past history of Switzerland, which must be borne in mind by those who wish to understand its present condition.

It is not necessary to revert to the time of the Roman dominion in Switzerland, nor of the Gothic invasion. The barbarism of the wandering Germanic tribes destroyed what Roman civilisation had begun. Finally, the Burgundians settled by the Jura and Lake Leman; the Gothic dominion was established over the High Alps in Rhetia, Uri, and Glarus as far as Italy; the Alemanni made their

dwelling on the lakes of Constance and Zurich, on the Rhine, and in the Alpine pastures. The Alemanni were conquered by the Franks; the Gothic rule sank; and the Franks divided Switzerland into two great duchies. The Rhine countries remained German, and were united with Swabia. Western Switzerland was joined to France and Savoy, and the land divided into fiefs. Castles arose on every side, and the conquered people became serfs, and were given over body and goods to their lords. The Franks brought Christianity into Switzerland; but with it came cloisters and monks, bishops and abbots, who also had no objection to regard the people as well as the land as property; so that, on the division of the empire of the Franks after the death of Charlemagne, the feudal system was firmly established. When Germany was desolated by the Avares, Hungarians, and Magyars, Henry the Builder, to whose empire German Switzerland had fallen, commanded the erection of strong places in Switzerland, and released from thraldom all who would take up their abode in walled places and defend them. Hence arose, from unprotected villages, the towns of Zurich, Basle, St. Gall,

Lucerne, Soleure, and Schaffhausen, and subsequently Freiburg and Berne, when the German emperors annexed Burgundian Helvetia to the empire; the two latter were built by imperial officers, the Dukes of Zähringen. The cities flourished, and, as in Germany, became objects of hatred and envy to the knights, counts, and princes. From the general wild freedom of all who possessed land, who alone, according to the German notions, were freemen, a caste of nobles gradually separated themselves, who, as they increased in numbers, oppressed the weaker members of society; and, in a time when might made right, all who could not help themselves were obliged to seek the protection of those who could help them.

The towns could aid and protect one another, but the country, with the herdsmen and tillers of the soil, fell under the gripe of the knights and cloisters, of which there were already many. The Counts of Savoy held great possessions on all sides of Lake Leman; the Bishop of Lausanne reigned in that ancient city; the Counts of Neufchatel held the lands from Jura to the Aar; the powerful Counts of Freiburg, with their feudatories, ruled from

Zurich to the Lake of Constance; in Aargau the Counts of Hapsburg; and further on the Counts of Rapperswyl, Toggenburg, Werdenburg, Sargau, Montford, and many others, the ruins of whose ancestral castles are still to be seen on all sides, even to the very deepest recesses of the High Alps.

In many towns the bishops held right of sway: but by degrees most of them sought the protection of the German emperors, and became imperial cities.

The population of the towns was formed by a bold race of freemen, enriched by commerce, who knew how to make themselves respected, and to chastise the nobles who invaded their privileges; but the wild solitary mountain-valleys of Schwyz, Unterwalden, and the Uri, alone held free peasants, under imperial protection, and without the knightly masters with which the highlands of Rhetia and Valais swarmed. The country people were horribly oppressed, sometimes even tormented with devilish cruelty; and some who had long preserved their freedom, such as those dwelling near the Lake of Constance, gradually sunk beneath the usurpations of the Abbots of St. Gall. The people among the

mountains of Appenzell had alone preserved their liberty, and remained under the protection of the empire.

In this state things continued till the accession of the house of Hapsburg to the imperial crown. This wealthy Swiss family endeavoured by every possible means to increase its hereditary dominions. Rudolf of Hapsburg, it is true, infringed no man's rights, but his son and successor Albert soon began to cherish the design of making all that was Imperially free the absolute property of his house. He flattered the nobles, enriched them with lands and honours; secret bribes were offered to the cities if they would do him homage; and frightful oppression was practised by his officers on the free mountaineers, to show them they were born thralls.

The consequences were discontent and resistance, and finally open war. The league, formed in 1291 by Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, was soon joined by the Counts of Savoy, who dreaded Albert's plans; by the Bishop of Constance; and afterwards by the already powerful cities of Berne, Zurich, Freiburg, and Soleure. The Bernese broke the power of the nobles in the battle of the Donner-

bühel, destroyed their castles, and prepared by this glorious victory the general revolt.

What the final consequences might have been to the peasant portion of the insurgents cannot be told; for, as the emperor was preparing to make his vengeance felt, he was murdered by his nephew John of Swabia and his adherents.

To this day, the three old cantons boast of Swiss freedom as their work, and undeniably they gave the first impulse; but without the assistance of the cities and their allies, and the peculiarly favourable circumstances of the time, the cause would never have been won. For a long time after the death of Albert, his widow and children, intent on avenging his murder, took no heed of the mountain insurgents. The murderers were Swiss nobles, who with their families and kindred were at length slaughtered by those ferocious women the Empress Elizabeth and her daughter Agnes of Hungary, assisted by Leopold of Austria, Albert's son. Hundreds of knights and barons perished on the scaffold, and their castles were burnt to the ground.

In 1315, when these horrors came to an end, the Swiss herdsmen, who in the mean-

time had established their independence, were again remembered. An easy victory was expected over the poor mountaineers, who had only their naked breasts to oppose to the mail-clad knights. But the defeat of Morgarten was the answer to knightly insolence. The flower of the nobles fell on that day, and henceforward we really meet with *Swiss*.

Berne, Lucerne, and other cities, which had hitherto secretly aided the mountaineers, now did so openly. All were more or less struggling with Austria for their invaded rights, and in open feud with the nobles who favoured Austria.

In 1335 the Bernese called on the herdsmen of the mountains for their assistance, and with their help obtained the victory at Laupen.

Lucerne had been the first of the towns to perceive the necessity of making common cause with the forest cantons; Zug, Zurich, and Glarus followed; and, in 1360, these eight old cantons made a solemn pact, and what they did not obtain by the victories of Sempach and Nafels was won, by negociation and purchase, from the weakened and impoverished nobles.

CHAPTER IV.

The Pastoral Cantons and Towns—Catholics and Protestants—Complete Oppression of the People in the Eighteenth Century—French Revolution and its Consequences for Switzerland—Helvetic Republic—Napoleon's Act of Mediation—The Reaction from 1815 to 1830—Struggles of the People against their former Lords; against Priests, Methodists, and Jesuits.

In the meantime, great changes had taken place in the governments of the cities, where many of the old knightly families dwelt; their credit had declined, and younger families and the guilds in a great measure occupied their place. A great increase in land and people accrued to the Confederates, through the call of the Emperor Sigismund for their assistance to put the ban of the empire in force against Duke Frederick of Austria. In defiance of sworn treaties of peace and friendship, Berne fell upon Aargau, and Zurich, Lucerne, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Glarus were not ashamed to assist. Uri alone stood aloof, and condemned this treachery.

In this manner the Confederates obtained territory by conquest, and kept it! They—

the sons of freedom—brought their countrymen under the yoke of servitude, ruled them arbitrarily by governors, and, by degrees, with great harshness. This example laid the foundation of subsequent corruption. The old equality was lost sight of, the country people every where treated as inferiors, and the members of guilds, the "old citizens," and "*full* citizens," began to look on themselves as a privileged caste ruling over the country by the grace of God.

In the fifteenth century, the Swiss quarrelled among themselves about the inheritance of the Counts of Toggenburg, and for the first time Confederate blood was shed by the hands of brethren. Zurich fought against Schwyz; made alliance with Austria; and justly called down upon herself the vengeance of the Confederation. Murder and treason stalked on every side: the Dauphin of France invaded Switzerland with the hired help of the Armagnacs; peace was at last made in 1450; but the peace was soon broken, and the Burgundian war followed, in which Charles the Bold lost his life.

The Swiss, however, were no gainers by

these numerous wars. The youth thought of nothing but fighting and booty; the wild camp life rendered the quiet domestic hearth distasteful. The lesser cantons of the interior detested the cities, whose wealth and importance they felt too sensibly; and the towns despised the rudeness of the country. Morality and wholesome discipline declined; pride and avarice came in their place; the laws were no longer held binding on the rich; and the state of Switzerland in 1480 may be surmised from the single fact, that in that year alone fifteen hundred murderers and robbers were executed.

In addition to all this, an evil which was for centuries after the curse of Switzerland now first made itself felt. The young men left their country yearly in great numbers to serve as mercenaries in the armies of France, Italy, and Germany. From these campaigns they returned home wild and dissolute, sometimes laden with booty, but often crippled and beggared, and became a burden to the community, or supported themselves by robbery and murder; yet the authorities chose not to interfere. They received from the

foreign recruiting officers bribes in the shape of presents; and this system of corruption rose afterwards to a shameful height as the influence of France became greater in Switzerland, and the Pope, the Italian princes, and Austria, vied with each other in purchasing the services of the Swiss; for every absolute sovereign had only to seek there and obtain his most unhesitating instruments.

In process of time a regular trade in human flesh was established, and the rulers made formal treaties with foreign princes to supply them with mercenary soldiers. Their sons and cousins became captains and colonels, every one sought to obtain orders, pensions, and titles; and the members of the Councils disputed openly and bandied opprobrious epithets over the division of the spoil, while the men in whose blood they trafficked were murdering each other in the service of contending princes. How was it or is it possible to dream of Swiss freedom in such an abyss of corruption?

In the midst of this general licentiousness came the Reformation, and changed the aspect of affairs. The farming of indulgences by Pope

Leo X. roused a secular priest, Zwingli, to preach against them, as well as against the doctrine of purgatory, the adoration of saints, the mass, and the celibacy of the clergy. Zwingli was called to Zurich in 1579, and there protected; in the towns his followers became numerous, while in the mountains the priests and monks thundered against every innovation; and soon all Switzerland was in a flame with the strife of two fiercely contending parties.

Zurich, Berne, Basle, St. Gall, Neufchatel, and the towns round the Lake of Geneva embraced the Reformation. Freiburg, Soleure, Lucerne, and the forest cantons forbade all change of faith, under pain of death. Old friendships were dissolved, family ties forgotten; and at last it came to rebellion, war, and executions, and burnings for heresy. When war broke out, however, Berne left the Zurichers to fight alone: they were assailed by the united force of the forest cantons and defeated. Had the Reformers acted in unison and been victorious, Switzerland would have been spared a thousand wounds which are yet bleeding. The Zurichers were obliged to make peace. Soleure and the Grisons became again

Catholic; Zwinglius fell in the battle at Kappel, and the Reformation made no further progress.

Geneva had adopted the new doctrine, but its practice was hindered by the bishop and the powerful Duke of Savoy, its liege lord. As the persecutions in this city waxed hotter, Berne and Freiburg took the part of the confederate city, invaded Savoyan Vaud, and overran the whole territory, except a small part, which Valais and Freiburg appropriated.

In 1536 Geneva, where the blood-thirsty John Calvin was now paramount, drove out its bishop, and declared itself a free state. The Duke of Savoy lost his whole territory on the lake; Berne obtained possession of it, and thus gained more subjects, who, under the stern rule of their officers, were compelled to swear fealty to the new religion and their gracious lords of Berne. The Catholic cantons, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Soleure, and Freiburg, now formed a league (the forerunner of the Sarner and the Sonderbund of our day) to stem the advance of the evangelical doctrine, and which received the name of the Borromean League, from Car-

dinal Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, who came into Switzerland to preach against the Reformation.

Religious strife caused in 1597 the separation in Appenzell of the Outer Evangelical part of the canton from the Inner, which was Catholic; blood had flowed in Valais from the same cause, until the weaker party, the Reformers, had to give way, and were compelled to leave their native land; while similar events were taking place on the Italian side of Switzerland, beyond the St. Gotthard, and in the bailiwick of Locarno. The cruelties practised in the Grisons and the Valteline were frightful; and in the midst of these terrible scenes a new enemy made its appearance, the "Black Death," which was then ravaging Europe. A revolt of the peasants in Berne, Lucerne, Zurich, Basle, and Soleure, only served to rivet their chains more firmly, and pour forth the blood of their leaders on the scaffold. The governments aided each other, and their united efforts were directed to seek out and destroy the last remnants of freedom, if any such yet existed.

During this period the Thirty Years' War was

desolating Germany: but it had little effect on Switzerland, except that at the conclusion of the peace of Munster it was, through the mediation of France, declared henceforward "completely independent of the Germanic empire."

In *1656* a new war broke out between the Reformers and the Catholics, whom the Bernese and Zurichers conquered this time at Villmergen; a victory, however, which had no other result than a great loss of life and treasure. The third and last war began in 1712, when the Abbot of St. Gall tried to make serfs of the people of Toggenburg, and to force on them the Catholic religion. Zurich and Berne were again victors over the forest cantons and Lucerne. Berne in particular was well supplied with artillery, and against powder and ball the fanatical courage of the herdsmen of Schwyz and Uri availed as little as the crosses and consecrated standards, on whose aid they relied with so much assurance.

From that period to the French Revolution, Switzerland was at peace it is true, but it was oppressed and enslaved. Shame and sin were rampant. "The chief object, if not of all, yet of

the greater part," says Zschokke in his history, "was to obtain wealth; free citizens there were not, but instead, lords and vassals; the governorships were bought, and law and justice trafficked in, like common merchandise. Some contended for the favours, pensions, titles, and gewgaws of foreign courts; others aimed at obtaining a place among the ruling castes, not by serving their country, but by marrying the daughters of the privileged orders. The people in the subject lands possessed little more than the right to till the ground in common with the cattle; they were plunged in the deepest ignorance, for the authorities dreaded the awakening of the peasant to a sense of his rights. The ruling cities destroyed the freedom of the country, the noble families in the cities that of the lower class of citizens. Now and then some feeble attempt would be made to avoid a new oppression or shake off an old one; but the hopeless struggle scarcely attracted the attention of even fellow-sufferers. All lay benumbed as in the sleep of death."

Such is the picture of Switzerland during the eighteenth century. Add to this a stub-

born clinging to all obsolete maxims and usages, and the maintenance of the criminal code of the middle ages (Captain Henzi and his fellow-conspirators were *racked* in 1749), which often condemned some of the best and noblest of the land to shameful tortures and ignominious death; branding and flogging through the streets by the hangman, standing in the pillory, and twitching with burning tongs, &c. judicial spectacles frequently presented in Zurich and Berne, for the rabble, high and low, to feast their eyes upon.

The French Revolution burst in thunder over the moral and social swamps of Switzerland. So long as the aristocratic families and citizens in the towns had had to watch over the maintenance of their authority, a certain vitality had remained; but when, as in the eighteenth century, a stupid and apathetic mass slumbered at their feet, the masters slumbered also, or gave themselves up to pleasure, and treated it as an impossibility that even a doubt could be raised of the continuance of their power. Hence the signs of the times, significant as they were, were wholly unheeded; neither the progress of French ideas

in the Pays de Vaud and in Aargau, nor the revolt of the peasants of Freiburg in 1782, could arouse them from their dream of security.

At last came the year 1792, when the French began to interfere in the affairs of the confederacy; and from that time to 1797 it was evident enough to all Switzerland what their rulers had to fear. In Geneva and Basle the revolution was already triumphant; and on every side arose demands for ancient rights, clamorously made and violently withheld; tumult and revolt, suppressed for the moment, were punished by sentences of banishment, tortures, chains, and dungeons for life!

At last, however, the French revolutionary army entered Switzerland, and in four days the die was cast. The aristocratic army of Berne melted away, and the old aristocracy fell almost without a blow. The Pays de Vaud, Aargau, and Ticino declared themselves free; Berne, Freiburg, and Soleure received French garrisons; and the federal union was pronounced at an end. Henceforward Switzerland was to form one republic with a single government. Universal civil equality without distinction of country or town was decreed.

In a general assembly the citizens were to choose their own government officers, judges, and other functionaries. The government thus formed was to name the stadtholders, and the executive of the several cantons, whose numbers were limited to eighteen. The smaller cantons, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Glarus, were amalgamated into one, under the name of the Forest Cantons; but they were not prepared to acquiesce so quietly in this new arrangement; they and they alone resisted and defended their ancient rights with their ancient valour. Under the command of Aloys Reding they fought and were victorious at Rothenthurm and at Arth; but, too feeble to maintain themselves long, and at variance with each other, they were in the end obliged to submit, and yield obedience to the behests of the French.

But the ancient edifice, that had endured so many centuries, was not so quickly replaced by a new organization, which it was found much easier to decree and draw on parchment than to endue with the principle of life. Communities that had existed, time out of mind, in a state of alienation, differing

in rights, in manners, in religion, and modes of thinking, could not all at once become one. The old aristocracies, and the towns with their dependants, formed a secret and formidable power. The people themselves, the rude, unenlightened masses, clung to their old habits. Freedom they had desired, but not to become parts of a republic, one and indivisible. The idea of a Swiss nation taking its place among the European family was strange to them; it is strange to them to this day; for then, as now, cantonal independence and communal power were the objects of their most fervent desire, and it is this which is the great obstacle to the project of uniting Switzerland into one great state. As additional causes of discontent, exorbitant taxes were imposed, and contradictory laws enacted; the executive directory was found wholly powerless; the Senate and Great Council, consisting of the deputies from the cantons, were involved in the wildest disputes; and, while the bitterest want was every where felt, there was a French army to maintain, whose banditti of commissaries and officers were draining every vein of the country. The ranks of the discontented

were further swelled by the numbers of dispossessed officers and persons in authority in former times; by the monks, who dreaded the suppression of the convents, which subsequently took place; by the parochial clergy, whose means were diminished; and by the merchants and artisans, suddenly deprived of their monopolies and corporation privileges, and whose hatred of the French broke out into open insurrection at the very time when the oath of adherence to the new order of things was to be taken.

The outbreak was dangerous in Unterwalden alone, where the people were led on by the monks, who declared the French and the new constitution both the offspring of the devil, and promised the rude multitude the direct intervention of the Holy Virgin and the celestial bands of saints and angels. Under the guidance of the priests, four thousand of the French were hewn to pieces without mercy, by the herdsmen, their wives, and children; a pitiless deed, as pitilessly avenged when the French hour of victory came.

When hostilities recommenced between France and Austria, the majority of the Swiss

were in favour of the latter; but among the partisans of France were some of the best and most patriotic men in the country. The people fell on the French wherever they could; the different parties attacked each other with all the fury of conflicting opinions; and, in the meanwhile, Austrians, Frenchmen, and Russians were contending with each other above the clouds in the High Alps, where many an immortal deed of valour was performed.

France was finally victorious, but there was no pause in the internal struggles of the Swiss. The Helvetian government was altered three times, and fled at last from Berne to Lausanne. Zurich and the lesser cantons fell away, Vaud was preparing to follow, and a general civil war seemed on the point of breaking out, when Napoleon commanded peace, sent an army into Switzerland, and, offering himself as mediator, ordered deputies from all parties, and from all the cantons, to repair to Paris.

The Act of Mediation, put in execution by the iron will of Napoleon in 1803, restored peace to Switzerland. Nineteen cantons were restored to their separate independence, but

old family and civic privileges were annulled; all Swiss were made equal in the eye of the law, and vassalage was altogether abolished. Commerce was freed from all restrictions, and free right of settlement in any part of Switzerland assured to all. By these enactments, the latter especially, a greater degree of freedom was bestowed than Switzerland enjoys *now*. Five *Vororts* were appointed, Berne, Zurich, Lucerne, Freiburg, and Soleure, where the Diet was to be held alternately, and the president of the Vorort, for the time being, was to be at the head of affairs as Landamman. It was found, however, that the cantonal sovereignty had so much more weight than that of the Diet and the Landamman, that the latter could do little good; many abuses remained nearly as they were before, and the hopes and wishes of true lovers of freedom were as little fulfilled by the new constitution as those of the old aristocratic party.

Some essential advantages were nevertheless gained in the overthrow of the ruling *castes*, and in many particular ameliorations; and a kind of compromise was finally made between the old and the new, to which the

general desire for peace gave stability. Commerce and industry revived, and found new channels. Something like public spirit too arose from the contact of men of different cantons, who in the course of civil contentions had learned to know one another better. Societies were formed for the advancement of undertakings of general interest, or for mutual aid, when the country was visited by any common misfortune. These were the consequences of the general awakening of the people, and their interest in public affairs; the happy result of sweeping away corporation fetters, and the free right of settlement in any canton. The continual wars of the French Emperor were, however, prejudicial to the industrial exertions of Switzerland, as his allies the Swiss were bound by treaty to furnish his army a contingent of 16,000 men, whom he paid, it is true, but whose numbers they were bound to maintain, and this was a just ground of complaint. Yet the period of the Mediation Act was on the whole beneficial; there was progress, and the people were becoming conscious of their rights.

How much yet remained to be done became evident on the downfall of Napoleon's power in 1813. The snake that was scotched, not killed, began to move again. The aristocrats, the cities, the old families, raised their heads once more, and on the advance of Austrian troops on Berne, the patricians quietly took possession of their old places, and resumed their old courses. In Freiburg, Lucerne, Soleure, and Zurich, so noble an example was speedily followed; the people, surprised and frightened at seeing the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian generals and ambassadors on such good terms with their former masters, and these supported by the arms of the allies, held their peace and allowed themselves to be again enslaved.

This submission and the spirit of a stiffnecked aristocracy, which, like that of France, had learned nothing, and forgotten nothing, encouraged the patricians of Berne to summon their old vassals of Vaud and Aargau to return to their allegiance; but here they were met by a decided resistance. The two cantons armed themselves, and men from all parts of Switzerland who looked back with horror

and detestation on their old slavery flocked to join their standards. But the old slavery came back at last, with all its retinue of shame and suffering. Banishment, dungeons, punishments of every kind, followed the victories of the aristocrats; the people saw everywhere their friends and leaders trodden under foot, and personal safety began to be the first object with all. The cities, with Berne at their head, were active in sending assistance to all who needed help in acts of oppression like their own.

At last the fate of Switzerland was decided at the Congress of Vienna, in 1815. The federal union was to consist of twenty-two cantons, Geneva, Valais, and Neufchatel being added to the number; and the latter immediately renewed its former relations with Prussia. The cantons which had formerly held subjects received an indemnity or an extension of territory. Berne and Zurich got back the capital they had employed in England, with interest; and everything was to remain in its former condition, that is, its condition after the victory of the aristocratic party. Each canton was sovereign, and free to act according to

its own pleasure. The general right of settlement granted by the Act of Mediation, free trade, and other popular benefits, were withdrawn; all the old lines of demarcation replaced; and Switzerland presented, as of old, examples of all possible forms of government, from pure democracy to aristocracies and oligarchies of every kind up to monarchy.

And now once more the contrast of town and country, inner and outer cantons, between barbarism and civilisation, and, worse than all, between Catholic and Protestant, became glaring as ever. The small pastoral cantons, which had no ancient written constitution (a boon they had owed solely to the Act of Mediation), fell back into the old train; left the government wholly to the old families, looked down on strangers settling among them with the old arrogance, and followed blindly the guidance of the monks and priests, whose unblessed influence was soon exerted to bar all attempt at needful reform or the extension of education. A similar state of things prevailed in Lucerne, Soleure, and Freiburg, where the patricians and priests made common cause; Berne, whose voice was potential in the Diet, followed

the same line of conduct; Zurich was rather more fortunate; the country people had obtained some concessions, unsatisfactory it is true, but, such as they were, they maintained them. Basle, on the other hand, held firmly by its privileges. The city was in the hands of a mercantile aristocracy, which would not hear of a representation of the country. Aargau, St. Gall, Appenzell, and Vaud had freed themselves from their most oppressive relations, and showed more vital energy.

The Diet held in the Vororts of Berne, Zurich, and Lucerne, was then a melancholy shadow, without life or substance. The individual sovereignty of every little canton was an effectual bar to internal improvement, and robbed Switzerland of all weight and dignity in relation to the great powers and the court of Rome. The reinstated aristocracy saw justly enough only friends and supporters in those powers, whom they must endeavour to please however they might disgust the thinking part of the nation. For this end, the freedom of the press was shackled, the Italian fugitives surrendered in 1823 to Austria, a severe system of surveillance introduced for foreigners;

and, that no part of the old scandal might be wanting, treaties to furnish mercenary troops were entered into with foreign powers. The efforts of some cantons to obtain so much of the Diet as uniformity of currency, and of weights and measures, were fruitless; nothing was done either in furtherance of the right of settlement, or of freedom of trade. What wonder if a secret fire remained smouldering in the breast of every upright man who really loved his country?

It is instructive to observe how steadily at this time the Propaganda in Switzerland pursued its object,—the exaltation of the Church above the State, the annihilation of the free episcopacy through the absolute authority of the Pope, and the unconditional surrender of the people to the direction of the priesthood; —and how unflinchingly the same object is pursued now.

From Lucerne, where, since the time of Cardinal Charles Borromeo, a papal nuncio has resided, who has been the centre of all Catholic action for the protection of the faith; from this capital of a land full of rude and ignorant peasants, this city of aristocrats and

priests, has proceeded the Ultramontane intrigue to tear asunder the ancient connexion between Switzerland and the bishopric of Constance, and establish a "national bishopric." By the phrase "national bishopric" the people were ensnared, and a patriotic zeal awakened in favour of the plan of separating Switzerland from the German Catholic Church. Whilst the negotiations were going on, the nuncio in Lucerne, Testaferrata, suddenly produced a papal bull to annul the union of Switzerland and Constance, and to appoint a Provisional Vicar-General. In vain were the protestations of the Prince-Bishop of Dalberg, the Bishop of Constance and his chapter, and equally vain were the negotiations of the Swiss governments, who could not afford to discontent their best allies, the clergy. After fourteen years of wearisome discussion and protocolling, Italian cunning prevailed, by artfully dividing the interests and concluding separate treaties with each. Instead of one national bishopric, two were erected in 1828,—Chur St. Gall and Basle, whose bishop resided in Soleure; and from that time forward the influence of the Catholic clergy became more

powerful and more obtrusive than ever. The fishermen of St. Peter's spread their nets, which fell like a heavy mourning-veil over Catholic Switzerland. The priests hurled their anathemas against every thing that displeased them; stirred up revolt against the governments that were not to their liking; denounced as heretics individuals who ever resisted them; undermined the peace of families, as they did the peace of states; and paved the way for their complete subjection of both to the Church and the Jesuits.

CHAPTER V.

New Swiss Regulations since 1830—Aristocrats, Ultramontanists, Pietists, Liberals, and Radicals—Separation and Struggle of Parties—Romish Influence—Sarner-league—Leagues of Aristocrats with Priests.

In the midst of these troubled times a national party was gradually forming, which found its point of support in the associations that were now spreading over many of the cantons, to the great annoyance of the aristocracy, and which, varying in character in other respects, kept steadily in view the common objects of strengthening public spirit and effecting the elevation of the masses. The associations embraced the kernel of the nation, the soundest thinkers and best-informed men, the lawyers, physicians, teachers, the wealthiest and most esteemed citizens in the country towns and communes, who carried with them the majority of the people. On the other side were ranged the patricians, the privileged citizens, and the clergy, Catholic and Protestant, with some few exceptions. When the

July revolution broke out in Paris it found a joyous echo in Switzerland, as the great revolution had formerly done. The national party became bolder, the demands for reform louder, and the aristocrats of Berne, who had complimented the French Ambassador, the Marquis de Gabiac, on the appearance of the July ordinances, now saw in the appearance of things in Switzerland the approaching downfall of their power.

The first decisive steps were taken in Aargau and Thurgau. The aristocracy of the newly created cantons of St. Gall and Vaud had been formed since the Restoration, and consisted of a number of men who had obtained influence by the possession of land, by trade and industry; and who, with their dependents, had usurped the offices of government, and made use of their authority to keep the people in dependence. On the 12th of September, 1830, the leaders of the popular party met in Lenzburg, and drew up a petition to the Great Council, demanding a thorough reform. A similar course was pursued in Thurgau and Zurich, where thirty-one members of the Great Council called a meeting of the people

in Uster, to demand from the Lesser Council a revision of the constitution.

In Zurich also no actual aristocracy existed, but the power of the ruling families rested, not on territorial possessions, but on wealth acquired in trade, and the government was obliged soon to yield. With it fell the power of the citizens, who hitherto, out of 212 members composing the Great Council, had chosen 130; and, after many half-resolutions, a new meeting of the people in Uster dictated the fundamental principles of a constitution, according to which, the city was to choose one-third, the country two-thirds, of the Great Council, whose discussions were thenceforth to be public.

A free press, entire separation of the executive and judicial functions, abolition of the corporation privileges, right of petition and association, and equality of civic rights, were demanded and at last granted. On the 10th of March, 1831, Zurich received the amended constitution, and a new epoch began for this canton.

Changes were also made in the cantons of St. Gall and Soleure; in Freiburg they were

wrung from the government by a threatening movement on the part of the people. In Lucerne the Liberal party, which was joined by some of the younger and more enlightened patricians, obtained a new constitution; in Aargau and Lausanne this was the work of the armed populace. The movement in Schaffhausen had as yet no satisfactory result; in Schwyz the outer circle separated from the inner, which had arrogantly refused them political equality; and a similar division took place after a long and bloody struggle in Basle. The city of Basle maintained that the country people should either accept the constitution which pronounced them dependent and inferior, or renounce all connexion with her. In vain the Diet protested against this decision. The blind hatred of the civic and monied aristocracy would not allow the surrender of a single unjust advantage. Better lose all, they said, than put themselves on a level with peasants; and accordingly in February, 1832, the separation was decreed by the Great Council, and on the 14th of March, the administration of forty-two dissatisfied communes was resigned. The selfishness

of the citizens of Basle is wholly responsible for the sanguinary disturbances that took place, and for consequences fraught with danger to all Switzerland.

The aristocrats of Berne held out as long as they could, affected to despise the petitions for reform, and prepared to support their refusal by means of a mercenary soldiery. They suppressed the liberal newspapers, and persecuted the popular favourites; but when discontent began to manifest itself in the city, and the people threatened to resort to arms, the courage of the government sank; popular meetings were held, in which Professor Schnell of Burgsdorf particularly distinguished himself by the energy of his demands; and a menace was heard of the appointment of a new constitutional assembly if the government would not accede to the general call.

The aristocrats saw that their hour had arrived, and came to a resolution to fall with *honour,* as they phrased it. By a majority of 190 to 30, they declared the Great Council provisional, and ordered the election of a constitutional assembly. A proclamation to that effect was to save the credit of the patricians;

it was the death-groan of the old aristocracy, from which a small number only withdrew and joined the liberal party, preferring to keep their seats in the council, though under different relations, to being set aside altogether.

The constitutional assembly, consisting of 111 men from the 27 districts, met in Berne, and immediately applied themselves to the old question of grievances. Liberty of the press was established, publicity of debate, equality of civic rights, right of petition, freer communal institutions, and the sovereignty of the people was acknowledged.

About the middle of the year 1831, the desired reformations were effected in thirteen cantons, and their effects were made evident to the great powers of Europe when Switzerland raised an army of 70,000 men for the protection of her frontier, and in support of the declaration of neutrality. The great powers then acknowledged the neutrality, and all fear of intervention vanished.

The revision of the Federal Pact now came under discussion in the Diet. Lucerne, Zurich, Freiburg, Berne, Soleure, Schaffhausen,

St. Gall, Aargau, and Thurgau urged these weighty questions with great zeal, and proved how little its conditions were suited to the reforms just carried out in the majority of the great cantons, how little it contributed to the general welfare of Switzerland, and how mere a nullity it rendered the Diet itself. If any further proof of the latter assertion were wanting, it obtained it in this very discussion, when the Diet adjourned in order that the members of the several great cantonal councils might reconsider the matter at home before that assembly could resume the discussion.

Herein lies the dominant evil: *the Federal Pact has not been altered;* it remains as it was in 1815; and, having retained consequently all the faults, deficiencies, and crying injustice which the restored aristocracy, with foreign assistance, forced upon Switzerland, it cannot now be other than an object of scorn and derision to the people.

It is now to be seen how this great evil can be amicably removed. How, without risking the intervention of the great powers, can this all-obstructing pact be overturned? It might perhaps have been achieved in 1831, when

unity and energy prevailed in the great cantons, for at that time the public ferment in France, and the yet tottering dynasty of Louis Philippe, were allies since lost to the Swiss.

The deficiencies of the Federal Pact became then so manifest, that it seemed incomprehensible how it had been tolerated so long, and why the whole edifice had not fallen to pieces in times of such vehement commotion. According to this pact, all the cantons, the smallest and the greatest, had precisely the same voice in the Diet. The votes of Glarus, Unterwalden, Uri, or Zug, with their 15,000 or 30,000 inhabitants, had as much weight as those of Vaud or Aargau with 185,000, Zurich with 234,000, or Berne with 400,000. If it should please the lesser cantons to oppose any measure by means of this extraordinary equality of vote, which is the more unnatural as the cantons are assessed according to their size and population for the common burdens, for representation in foreign countries, for military contingents, in short, for every thing affecting Switzerland as a nation,—in such a case no change in the Federal Union would be possible; and this is actually the case at the

present time, in defiance of reason and the vehement opposition of three-fourths of the Swiss people. The lesser cantons are perfectly aware how much they would lose by any change in this respect. They fear the power of the great cantons, they fear the loss of their cantonal sovereignty, and the justly apportioned influence of a real Swiss Diet; hence they prefer an alliance with the Catholic party, and lending themselves to priestly and aristocratic intrigue, to making a great sacrifice to their common country.

After the year 1831, the two great parties in Switzerland began to split up into factions. The new governments were composed of a mixture of moderate aristocrats and moderate Liberals, opposed to whom were the old rulers and their partisans, and those who thought the reforms had not gone far enough. In many places a *juste milieu* arose, feeble and halting, which included in its ranks no small number of cunning adventurers, hunting after places and honours, and to these were united some honest men who were afraid of the consequences of their own work. They had awakened the slumbering people, had admitted

their claims, and had then taken fright at the natural results. They had after all no idea of really admitting the body of the people to any share in the government, and in this reluctance they were confirmed by the old timidity of the people before established authority, the old reverence of the peasant for the gentleman, of jacket and cap for coat and hat, the profound respect for money and for the city. Power had been taken from the old families and citizens of the towns and given to the cantonal citizens. The question was now, in spite of these republican institutions, to ward off the preponderance of the masses, and maintain the ascendancy of money and social position. From these considerations sprang all the inconsistencies, and all the weakness, of the Liberal party.

When their first terror was over, the aristocrats took breath again, and by the aid of the mountain chiefs and the priests formed a stubborn opposition. They had money to support journals as the organs of their views; they had friends and confidents in foreign cabinets; they had partisans in the country itself. A system of shameless and audacious

lying and calumny was pursued, to which the aristocratic party of Lucerne, and the chiefs and clergy of several Protestant cantons, lent their countenance. While the Romanists in the Catholic cantons, or where the population was mixed, excited a fanatical hatred against the government, pietism in Basle, Schaffhausen, and Zurich was not less active for the same object. A cry resounded that the holy Catholic Church was in danger, that Atheists, men without faith or truth, were turning the people from the God of their fathers, and seeking to make of Switzerland another Sodom and Gomorrah. Protestant pastors placed themselves at the head of, so called, pious societies, whose real object was the overturn of the government. Radical and Atheist were held to mean one and the same thing, and the "Basle Journal," and the "Schaffhausen Correspondent" avowed the same principles of Absolutism and Jesuitism as the "Church Journal of Lucerne," or the "Forest Canton Messenger," in Schwyz.

Against all these attacks, the patriotic societies and their organs had to contend unceasingly, and at the same time to urge for-

ward the laggard *juste milieu*. In Lucerne, the brothers Pfyffer, and the younger Dr. Casimir Pfyffer, an able lawyer of old patrician stock, placed themselves with other friends at the head of the Radicals; in Berne, the brothers Schnell, as well as Professor Ludwig Schnell, a German fugitive, who edited a Radical journal in Berne. Professor Troxter did the same in Aargau, and in Zurich Dr. Keller, and the painter, Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Disteli, in Soleure, whose admirable caricatures and celebrated Distel Almanac have rendered him so formidable an enemy of the aristocrats and Jesuits.

It may be easily imagined how motley a face party strife now presented on the narrow arena of Switzerland, where extremes must necessarily come so much in contact; and no less fierce and passionate than the German cantons were Ticino and Valais, where the Jesuits and the aristocratic party were in power. Things were not more tranquil either in Freiburg and Vaud, nor on the shores of Lake Leman, where the sect of the Methodists was endeavouring to establish itself. Madame de Krudener, the celebrated founder of the Holy

Alliance, having set up as enthusiast and prophetess, after a youth of licence, had laid, during her abode in Geneva, the foundation of a hypocritical devotion, which was farther extended by the influence of some rich English and Scotch families settled in that city.

Her companion and almoner—a young Geneva pastor named Empaytaz—connected himself with other individuals among the clergy, and with the Englishmen Drummond and Heldane, whose wealth and credit in England gave abundant support to their fanaticism. The people—properly so called—were too active, too busy, and too cheerful to listen to them; but they found followers among the upper classes, and their affected piety was found an excellent instrument for bringing the masses under the yoke. From Geneva, the Methodists spread into Vaud, where, in the year 1818, they received the name of Mummers, in derision, which has remained by them, and is used throughout French Switzerland to designate pious hypocrites. Vaud, so long held in vassalage by Berne, afforded exactly those conditions of superstition and blind faith so favourable to

the growth of Methodism. Pastor Melan of Geneva, and several Englishmen, performed their mission zealously, and in a few years there was a most abundant crop of enthusiasm, religious frenzy, and family discord. The population was split up into parties; the Mummers were roughly handled; and so great was the scandal, that the government was obliged to interfere, and acted with great severity. Unfortunately, the majority of the younger clergy, and a number of the wealthier families, belonged to this sect; and persecution only increased their zeal: the government became at last aware of this, and repealed the law that had been enforced against them. The Mummers had once more possession of the field, and thought the game was already won; but a newer and better defence was now raised in the natural course of things. Popular freedom had now fairly struck root; a more enlightened spirit began to show itself; and when, in 1839, the Great Council declared all creeds of the Helvetic Church, or any other, non-obligatory, and acknowledged the Bible as the only rule of faith, the awakened intelligence of the people became

an effectual barrier to the future progress of the Mummers, from whom Vaud is now almost free. They had never been able to make any way in German Switzerland; partly on account of the greater enlightenment of the people, and partly because the kindred German pietism, which was better suited to them, had pre-occupied the ground.

In the mean time party divisions were rather increasing than diminishing, and in consequence Lucerne, St. Gall, Berne, Soleure, Aargau, Thurgau, and Zurich, united to form a *concordat* for the maintenance of their constitutions, under the name of the League of the Seven Cantons (*Siebnerconcordat*). The cantons of Basle, Neufchatel, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, and Zug, immediately formed a similar league for their own protection at Sarnen, in which they promised mutual protection, adherence to the Treaty of Union of 1814, and entered a common protest against the limitation of their cantonal sovereignty.

The great cantons were still working at the project of a new Federal Pact; but to little purpose. Its result was a feeble and unsatisfactory production, attacked on all sides, and

wholly rejected by Lucerne. At the same time Schwyz had taken arms against the outer district, which had separated itself from the rest of the country, Basle had attacked her revolted peasantry, and the Sarnic League had to bestir itself. At this appearance of a commencing civil war the Diet at last thought proper to interfere. Ten thousand men were levied, and Schwyz was garrisoned; the Sarnic League was dissolved, and Schwyz compelled to sue for peace. Colonels Abyberg and Vischer, their leaders, were dismissed the federal service, and the outer district of the canton agreed to a re-union with the inner, the enjoyment of equal rights being guaranteed them.

In this interval a vast number of fugitives from Poland, Italy, and Germany, had taken refuge in Switzerland, who in the year 1834 made the well-known incursion into Savoy, the failure of which involved Switzerland in a series of unpleasant differences with the great powers, who had long looked with a displeased eye on the changes and disputes of the cantons. Louis Philippe's dominion was now confirmed, and he was seeking a reconciliation with the absolute monarchs, he made there-

fore common cause with them in their reclamations, and even outstripped them, to show his zeal. The note of the German Diet of the 6th of March indicated Switzerland as the common centre of conspiracy. Austria, Prussia, and Russia, demanded the dissolution of the Strangers' Association, and the banishment of the fugitives, and threatened to march an army of observation on the frontier in case of refusal. At first the Diet seemed inclined to take a high tone, and assert the independence of Switzerland, a course warmly insisted on by Berne, Lucerne, and Aargau; but this was not long persisted in. The dismissal of the disturbers of the public peace was agreed on; Berne alone ventured to refuse, for some time, till a meeting of German artisans took place in Steinholzli in Berne, where the black, red, and gold national flag of Germany was ostentatiously displayed, and some daring speeches made respecting the tyranny weighing on the German soil.

This outbreak gave rise to a new exchange of diplomatic notes, in the course of which the government of Berne altered its views, and promised the dismissal of the fugitives;

whereupon the ambassadors who had quitted Berne returned.

The bearing of Berne showed a deplorable mixture of cowardice and insolence. So long as there was any hope of assistance from France it maintained a lion-port, but when M. de Rumigny coalesced with the other ambassadors, it could not be submissive enough, and it even joined Zurich in the years 1835-36 in that ejection of foreign fugitives which, from the arbitrary manner in which it was conducted, is called in Switzerland the "Stranger-hunt." The party of the brothers Schnell took an active part in these transactions, another example of what is so often found in Switzerland amongst the so-called patriots; who, with all their glowing speeches about Swiss freedom, have not an idea of what freedom really is, and often display the most pitiful self-seeking and narrow-mindedness with respect to foreigners.

Scarcely was the "Stranger-hunt" over, when new misunderstandings arose with France, which led to an advance upon the frontier, and a threatened war, when Prince Louis Napoleon made his attempt at Stras-

burgh. He was a citizen of Thurgau; France demanded his dismissal; it was refused: but when Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Baden, seconded the demand of France, Switzerland escaped from her embarrassment only through the voluntary departure of Louis Napoleon.

CHAPTER VI.

Impotence of the Diet—The Priestly Oath—The Baden Articles—Disturbances—Revolutionary movement in Zurich—Its Progress and Triumph—Conservative Liberals—Their overthrow—Zurich again Radical—The Free Corps—Berne and its Scultheiss—The Radical Association—Party Papers—The Government of Neuhaus—Discontent of the People—Revision of the Constitution—Movements in Vaud—New Constitution—Affairs in Aargau—The Forest Cantons—Historical Summary—Political Character of the Cantons.

THE weakness shown by the Diet, and its deficiency in diplomatic tact, brought it thoroughly into contempt with the people. No good had been effected, except rendering its discussions public, a measure which only served to make its nullity more evident. Little or nothing was done for the advancement of trade and industry. The German Zollverein, now joined by Bavaria, Wirtemburg, and Baden, was close upon the Swiss frontier; and increased duties on cotton goods, silk goods, &c. had a sensible effect on the market for Swiss manufactures in Germany. The Diet could as little resolve on a junction with the German league, as on measures of re-

prisal, and the negotiations on the subject with the German states produced very slight alleviation; Austria and Sardinia prohibited all Swiss productions; the system of France was equally unfavourable; and the Swiss export trade was compelled to seek a market in the West Indies, America, and the most distant parts of the world. Nothing effectual could be done even for the freedom of the home market; for cantonal sovereignty would not bow to the will of the Diet, and there were no means of forcing the cantons to rescind their illegal levies under the name of taxes on consumption. A common standard of weights and measures was at last adopted in 1835, but the question of the coinage remained unsettled, and is unsettled to this hour.

In those cantons where the constitution had undergone a change, and where the population was mixed, the government had required an oath of allegiance to the new order of things from the Catholic priests, which the latter had refused to take. The matter came first in question in Glarus. The clergy supported their refusal on the prohibition of Bishop Bossi of Chur, which the people of Glarus answered by removing the refractory

priests and withdrawing from the episcopal connexion.

The priestly oath now became the object of violent disputes, and the views of Rome and the domineering spirit of the clergy became palpable enough; and even Lucerne began to see the necessity of breaking the papal influence, of restoring the old episcopal rights, and establishing those of a Swiss Church.

By desire of Lucerne, the states of Zurich, Berne, St. Gall, Thurgau, Aargau, and the country of Basle, met theirs in conference; and the Baden Articles were projected, which fixed the rights of the State relatively to the Church, and were drawn up in strict accordance with those accepted in other Catholic countries. This proceeding, however, was not approved by Rome. Pope Gregory the Sixteenth sent a circular to the Swiss clergy condemning the Baden Articles as false and audacious, "inasmuch as they aimed at diminishing the rights of the Holy See, at overturning the Church and its divine ordinances, and by their damnable doctrines leading infallibly to heresy and schism." Hereupon the papal nuncio left Lucerne; and the resolution was proposed, and subsequently adopted, that

the jurisdiction of the nuncio was an abuse against which proper measures must be taken.

The nuncio took up his residence in Schwyz; and the bodyguard of the Romish faith, the Jesuits, thronged into the canton, and established themselves there. They stirred up the fanaticism of the people to such a pitch that, in Aargau for example, the country people threatened any priest who should take the oath to the new government. Some battalions were necessary to restore tranquillity. Similar occurrences took place in Catholic Jura; but the matter ended in a manner customary in Switzerland. Discord and irresolution divided the cantons; the foreign ambassadors made their influence felt; and, finally, every one of these little states made a separate bargain for itself, and did whatever seemed right in its own eyes.

With the question of the priests' oath, and as a consequence of it, the dissolution of the convents was discussed at the Basle conference, and became the object of vehement contention. Aargau, Thurgau, and St. Gall suppressed some monasteries, appointed a commission to overlook the property of those

which were left, and exercised a rigid control over the reception of novices, &c. This took place under the protest of Rome and the despoiled clergy, and amidst the most violent excitement of the Catholic part of the population.

About this time, 1839, Valais and Ticino rose against aristocratic and priestly absolutism, and under the leadership of Colonel Lavini drove out the most obnoxious of their oppressors, and established another and more popular government. Berne was also contending with the Ultramontanes in Jura, but the greatest and most important changes took place in Zurich, where the Liberal government was overturned, and a pietist, re-actionary party got the upper hand, which invented and adopted the name of Conservative-Liberal.

In Zurich, the burgomasters Hirzel and Hess had been at the head of the movement party, and had rendered great services in the internal affairs of the canton, especially in the department of education; indeed the seminary, the cantonal schools, and the universities owed their existence principally to them. They procured the nomination of the seminary director Scherr, the passing of new laws rela-

tive to the schools, and the synod of schoolmasters, by which institution the school was separated from the Church and left free to self-development. Active reforms in the legislation and a new organisation more favourable to equality were carried, and the old fortifications of the city removed, to the deep vexation of the townspeople, but with the hearty approbation of the country and to the great embellishment of the city itself. This step was looked on as significant of the promised equality. In 1838 also, the power of the guilds as political bodies ceased. The pastors in the mean time had not been idle on the other side; their representations of the unchristian character of the then government had produced great agitations among the communes, on the Lake especially, and when Dr. Strauss, by the decision of Burgomaster Hirzel, was called to fill a Professor's chair at the university of Zurich, a society for the maintenance of religion was immediately formed, at the head of which a fanatic of the name of Hurliman Landes placed himself, in conjunction with Pastor Hirzel of Pfaffikon. Auxiliary associations were quickly organised, addresses sent to the Government, and the removal of Dr. Strauss

and the abrogation of many new regulations in the Church and schools required. The government wavered, involved itself in contradictions, and, when apostates and traitors were discovered in their own ranks, the storm broke forth.

On the 6th of September, thousands of peasants led by Pastor Hirzel, and singing hymns, the greater part of them armed with scythes and poles, entered Zurich, where the citizens looked on in silence but with malicious joy at this crusade against the "godless" government. The authorities were weak enough to enter into negociations with them; but these were interrupted by the impatience of the peasants. The latter were dispersed, it is true, by the handful of dragoons at the command of the government, but now the Landsturm poured in, many of the men being provided with fire-arms. The government dissolved itself; the commanding officer of the dragoons, Major Ubel, with difficulty made his escape; several members of the council kept themselves for a long time in concealment; one councillor, Hegetschweiler, who had played a very ambiguous part in the

preceding occurrences, was killed by a bullet. Burgomaster Hess alone maintained the dignity of the fallen government, by voluntarily laying down his office, and walking boldly through the raging multitude, which opened a path before him.

And now, in the room of these men who had placed Zurich at the head of the federation, came the so-called Conservative-liberals, who allied themselves with the old city-party; and, although they could not go backwards, as they were well aware, yet would not go forwards, and nourished in secret the hope of leading the people in the way they wished, by the aid of their fanatical auxiliaries. The offices of burgomasters were filled by men of the old ruling families. One was a rich silk manufacturer, Herr von Muralt, whose family had been long and honourably known in the annals of Zurich, where it had settled in 1555, when driven from Locarno on account of their faith, and had there introduced the art of silk-weaving; the other was Herr von Mosson, also a man of ancient family; and their cause was championed in the press by Professor and Privy Councillor Bluntschli, an able man, but

whose mind was distorted by fantastic middle-age notions.

The league which the mystics had formed with the aristocrats was of no long duration. The influence of the clergy had not, as in the Catholic cantons, struck root in every vein of popular life; it had been shaken by the recent measures of the fallen government, the abolition of tithes, the weight given to the laity in Church and school. The new government might throw into the back ground the League of the Seven (*Siebnerconcordat*), might drive out the liberal seminary director, Thomas Scherr, a native of Wirtemburg, but they dared not retrace the steps that had been taken to make the people cognisant of their sovereign rights. The seeds sown by the Radical government had germinated; and, though it is undeniable that it was the clergy who effected the revolution of 1839 in Zurich, it is no less true that the re-actionary party was in its turn overthrown by the schoolmasters, who from 1839 to 1845 had so formed and guided the public mind in Zurich that the elections of those years again gave an overwhelming majority to the Radicals. The burgo-

masters and their partisans had to resign, and the victory of the country over the city was so decided, that the two new burgomasters, De Zehnder, a physician, and Herr Furrer, a lawyer, were chosen from the cantonal citizens; a thing that had never before happened.

Zurich has remained Radical since 1845, and pursues a steady and moderate course of improvement, suited to the sober temperament of the people and to the respect for ancient usage that still lingers among them.

The temporary apostacy of Zurich from the cause of progress brought the disturbance and confusion of Switzerland to its height, and has in fact done more harm to the country at large than to that canton individually. For nineteen days the Diet remained without a president, because Zurich, which was then Vorort, should have filled that office by her burgomaster; and when order was restored, and Herr von Muralt nominated to that dignity, he found himself president of an assembly acting under totally different influences.

The increasing bitterness of party was con-

tinually breaking out in vehement disputes in the Diet itself, whose proceedings were in consequence impeded. All reformation of the Federal Pact became impossible, and the people being once aware that nothing was to be expected from the Diet, their indignation led them to right themselves, and gave rise to the Free Corps. Twice did an assemblage of armed men, citizens of different cantons, enter Lucerne, to enforce the return of the fugitive Lucerners. The first Free Corps dispersed of their own accord; the second failed in their object through various accidents, after they had forced their way to the very gates of Lucerne, and thought the game their own. A great number, chiefly Bernese and citizens of Aargau and Basle, were taken prisoners; some were murdered under circumstances of revolting cruelty by the country people. The fanatical rage of the Lucerners carried them in some cases so far as to induce them to torture their prisoners to death in cold blood; they were cast from rocks, thrown into the water with their hands and feet fettered, or even bound fast on ant-hills, where they expired in horrible agony.

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The proceedings of the Free Corps, and those of the Jesuits and their allies, we shall have occasion to describe more at length afterwards. A most remarkable circumstance connected with them is, that the preparations for their expeditions were made under the eyes of the governments, which could the less hinder them, that Grand Councillors, Executive Councillors, Colonels, and Presidents of the higher tribunals, in short, some of the most considerable men for wealth and station in the country, were to be found in their ranks,—a circumstance not otherwise to be explained than by their angry despair of obtaining other help.

If the plan had succeeded, the consequences could not have failed to be great and happy for Switzerland, for it would have been a practical settlement of the question of cantonal sovereignty, and have paved the way to a remodelling of the Pact.

The Free Corps, let what will be said against them, do honour to those who formed them; they were the result of a deeply-felt abhorrence of a crew of hypocrites and fanatics, who were leagued together for the ruin of their

common country. The doctrine of cantonal sovereignty cannot be any longer maintained, and those Liberals and Radicals who do assert it, show themselves either unable to shake off the narrow prejudice that seems innate in the Swiss, or they have, like President Druey of Vaud, so systematically inoculated themselves with faith in the right of the majority, that they would rather give their voices for the Jesuits and the aristocrats than renounce their system.

The only fault with which the Free Corps can be fairly accused is, that they were *not successful.* If they had been, three-fourths of the Swiss people would have hailed them with applause, and reaped with joy the advantages resulting from this anarchical raising of the shields.

When the bleeding remnants of the wrecked enterprise returned home, they were of course derided by all prudent people for having so foolishly risked their lives to rescue their countrymen from tyranny. Aargau, Basle country, and Berne had to pay considerable ransoms for their captured burghers; and this triumph of the Jesuits of Lucerne not a little contributed to establish their dominion on

firmer grounds, to increase their audacity and insolence, and to give occasion for persecutions and deeds before which the eyes of every honest man must sink in shame.

After Zurich had shrunk from the ranks of the progressing cantons, Berne stood alone, and Switzerland has to thank her that no deeper mischief ensued. A proud and resolute man, the Schultheiss Neuhaus, was then at the head of the Bernese government, which he guided, and a great portion of Switzerland besides, through his courage and strength of purpose. The four-and-twenty thousand bayonets of Berne, with which Neuhaus threatened the incendiaries, had their effect, especially when on more than one occasion, as on that of the disturbances relative to the Aargau convents, he showed that he was quite in earnest, and held the Bernese batallions in readiness to march to 'their neighbours' assistance if necessary. The old aristocratic factions in Berne were entirely subdued; those who had entangled themselves in foolish conspiracies were fugitives, or under accusations of high treason; a national party was formed, at whose head were Neuhaus, Tavell Jazi, and Kastenhofer. Op-

posed to them, the powerful party led by the brothers Schnell of Burgdorf had organised a Radical cantonal association, which advocated cantonal interests exclusively, hated with a bitter hate all foreigners, especially the Germans, excused the "Stranger-hunt," and, whilst with rustic coarseness they inveighed not only against the old aristocracy, but against the real aristocracy of talents and knowledge, they bent with supple poltroonery to the demands of the great powers, and rendered Bernese policy a bitter reproach to all real patriots.

This party wished to resuscitate the middle-age principle of the ascendancy of those of peasant class who were in possession of property; they desired in short, though contending against the nobles, to erect a new aristocracy, whose right should rest on possession of the soil, and on money, and would willingly have reduced those who possessed none to the condition of Helots. The people gave these men the nickname of Batzenmen,* but by degrees became alarmed by their all-con-

* The batz is a small Swiss coin of the value of nearly 1½*d.*

temning clownish arrogance. The national party, whose support was the National Association, and their organ the "Observer" (*Beobachter*), fought a long and vehement battle with the Schnells, their "Patriotic Association," and their organ the Burgdorf "People's Friend." The aristocratic party had a Protection Association, and through the medium of their paper the "Universal Swiss Journal" (*Allgemeine Schweizerzeitung*) poured mockery, calumny, and insult of every kind upon their antagonists. Lastly, there was the Catholic party of Jura, headed by the Advocate Stockmar, which demanded a return to the old French laws and institutions, and preached Ultramontane doctrines among the industrious mountain population, by the aid of the "Weekly Journal" (*Wochenblatt*) and the Pastor.

The two great parties made common cause when the suppression of the Protection Association and of the disturbances in Jura were in question. Professor Ludwig Schnell was sacrificed to the cantonalists as a foreigner, although he had rendered the greatest services to Berne and Switzerland generally,—an

example that has often been repeated in this country, and may serve as a warning to foreigners in general.

The division of the state and city property, and the rejection of some proposals of the peasant party, soon caused a complete rupture; in the end however the Nationalists obtained a decided majority, before which their adversaries were compelled to give way.

Neuhaus was now the most powerful man in Switzerland: but this power lasted only till Radical principles had reached a certain point of developement, beyond which neither he nor his friends were inclined to go. The bureaucratic temper of the Schultheiss of Berne, his haughty demeanour, and a certain inclination to keep apart from the people, and surround himself with a kind of halo of dignity, was any thing but agreeable to the republican feelings of the Bernese, which, among the young men especially, were somewhat impetuous in their expression. When the Free Corps made their attempt and failed, the government took the alarm, and prepared to retrace its steps. They feared to have gone too far; and, instead of trying to lead the people in a

republican spirit, they endeavoured to restrain them with a high hand. A retrograde movement was apparent, in a series of prosecutions of the press and in severe prohibitions and religious persecutions. But for this it was too late. Neuhaus had never understood how to win the people's love; they respected his talents and energy, but his pride repelled them. Now, when his government stood opposed to them, when severe measures were taken against the men who had shared in the Lucerne expedition, and the attempt was made to restrain their wrath at the ill-treatment of their brethren by increased strictness of police, the discontent became universal. Still there was an increase rather than a relaxation of the persecuting spirit, and many arbitrary steps were taken; Professor William Schnell was dismissed with circumstances of unusual harshness, and differences of religious opinion were met and punished in the old orthodox spirit.

In this state of things the call for a revision of the constitution became louder and louder; according to its tenor this revision should take place every six years, which however it

never had done. After many disputes, it was agreed in the spring of 1846 that a special council should be summoned, to rectify existing errors, through new constitutional forms; and to take into serious consideration the complete amalgamation of the several cantonal divisions. Jura alone was excepted, and has retained her former possessions. The republic of Berne had now for the first time withdrawn from the old historical ground of what were called natural relations, and placed herself on the modern point of view, by which all the citizens of a state are resolved into one harmonious whole. She had exerted herself to break down the exclusiveness of the communes, to make an adjustment of the communal property, the communal administration of the poor-office fund, and to equalise all burdens. A great majority of the burghers of Berne accepted this new constitution. Neuhaus and his friends found themselves excluded; a young patriotic party, bolder and more zealous, had seized the reins of government; and it now remains to be seen whether Berne is ripe to bear the overturn of all the old and the establishment of a new system of

social arrangements, in which though many may be gainers some must at least be temporary losers.

Next to Berne, whence a newer and more active life is spreading over German Switzerland, Vaud, by its recent struggle with the clergy, and its recent revolutionary movements, has attracted the attention of civilised Europe. In 1845 Vaud was dependent on the newly-formed aristocracy of the wealthier inhabitants of cities in the young canton. As the people gradually awakened to a knowledge of their rights, this clique gradually sunk in credit and authority. This consummation was further hastened by the better constitution of the schools, and the greater freedom of the press, which had been active in opposition to the proceedings of the Methodists; and the want of sympathy shown by the ruling party to the defeat and slaughter of the Liberals in Valais had completed the alienation. When in 1845 all Switzerland was agitated by the approaching discussion in the Diet relative to the expulsion of the Jesuits, 32,000 burghers of Vaud addressed a petition to the Council of State, requiring that the deputies of the canton

should be instructed to vote for the expulsion. The Council refused compliance, whereupon the people rose *en masse* on the 14th of Febuary, and in a general assembly at Lausanne named a provisional government, and placed at its head one of the most distinguished men in Switzerland, State-councillor Heinrich Druey, who united, what in this country is so seldom found, practical ability with sound philosophical cultivation.

The old Council of State was dissolved, and a new constitution proclaimed, wherein the sovereign authority of the people was explicitly acknowledged. The displaced party took shelter under the wing of the priests, who, under cover of the law, in this point decidedly in their favour, refused to read from the pulpit a proclamation of the new government. As all amicable representations proved abortive, the government was obliged to have recourse to stronger measures, for it was a question of life or death. Either the clergy must be forced to render obedience, or the new council must forfeit all claim to popular esteem. They proceeded accordingly to remove the most contumacious; the greater part

of those spared followed of their own accord, a step that produced no little embarrassment: still the government did not allow itself to be frightened. The people supported them admirably, and the clergy, who had flattered themselves that the simultaneous resignation of their offices would throw the whole country into confusion, and overturn the government, found themselves the greatest sufferers. This Pietist revolt did Vaud no harm, but its spiritual promoters lost enormously in the eyes of the people.

The Radical government stood firm, and has found in Berne a friendly neighbour, united with whom it must exercise a decided influence both in German and French Switzerland.

After Berne and Vaud, Aargau comes under consideration, which in 1841 was violently shaken in the midst of its reforming labours by the disturbances in the southern districts, whose Catholic inhabitants had been incited to revolt by the monks of Muri and other convents. In defiance of this outbreak, Aargau dissolved the whole of the convents; although, subsequently, the reclamations and mediation

of the Diet induced her to yield so far as to restore the nunneries. The revenues of Muri and Wettingen have done excellent service to the schools, which have been admirably organised in Aargau; nothing indeed has been neglected to improve the intellectual as well as the material condition of the people.

Among the forest cantons, Schwyz offers the greatest hopes of progress; the capacity of the people for instruction is greater, and no inconsiderable portion of the Catholic priests would be willing enough to see the Jesuits cast out of the Temple, for their presence diminishes the revenues of the regular clergy. Uri and Unterwalden are petrified pastoral communities, where the priests and old families are unlimited sovereigns. In Zug the Ultramontane party is uppermost, and on the whole, these solitary alpine lands have been and will always be swayed by those men who naturally possess their confidence, till some strong act of despotic power shall open their eyes.

But will the great powers suffer this? Would they like to see Switzerland really free; to have the spectacle of a real republic before the eyes of monarchical Europe?

Let us now sum up in a few words the whole course of Swiss history. It begins with the resistance of a few herdsmen to the oppression of the governors and feudal lords. The cities then come into the field, strengthened by the alliance of a small part of the knightly class, who have accepted rights of citizenship. Trade and manufacture develop themselves and lay the real foundation of Swiss freedom. Then follow long and bloody quarrels between the patricians (*geschlechter*) and the guilds, as in the German Imperial free cities; but in Switzerland the patricians are victorious. The little republics are formed, the cities ossify in their privileges, and the ruling castes also. They oppress the country people, become their masters, make vassals, and rule over slaves. The corporation-spirit is triumphant; a thousand divisions and sub-divisions are made, which endure for centuries. Switzerland is torn in pieces by religious differences, and is powerless to effect any change in her social condition; some attempts are made, but they are defeated and cruelly avenged; finally the whole people sink in the torpor of the eighteenth century, from which they are first aroused by the French Revolu-

tion. The subject lands are the first to shake off their old bonds; they demand their emancipation, and their French allies promise them new constitutions and a new era. The cantonal sovereignty falls, privileges are abolished, the corporations must give way before the new order of things for a time; but the change is too sudden and too sweeping to maintain its ground before the deeply-rooted social institutions of centuries. The privileged class will not part with what they consider their rights without a struggle; the mass of the population is too rude and ignorant to oppose them with effect; the differences are too great to be settled by the Act of Mediation. Some noble-minded individuals labour zealously to raise and enlighten the people; but new storms gather; the Helvetic Republic vanishes; the aristocracy regains its former ascendancy; convents and priests swarm once more in the pastoral cantons; and the Roman hierarchy and modern absolutism, proceeding from Vienna, shake hands in the centre of Switzerland.

In the year 1830, the Liberal party once more succeeds in driving out the oligarchy;

but the smaller cantons remain much in their former condition; and Switzerland makes no advance towards the unity of a well-ordered state. On all sides lurk mistrust, party strife, self-seeking, secret associations, religious hate, and the wildest fanaticism, fomented by the priests and Jesuits. In addition to all these, there is the threatened interference of foreign states.

A ceaseless lamentation is kept up in the German papers over Switzerland, as a country where the wildest anarchy throws life and property into constant danger; where the best and wisest sorrow and suffer; where the fever-paroxysms of crazy enthusiasts for freedom are trampling down every barrier of right and justice. These, they say, "are the consequences of republican institutions. Unhappy Switzerland! She will never cease to bleed till she shall take shelter in the arms of a wise, unfettered monarch, who will protect all alike, and uphold the majesty of the law."

Before I close this historical summary, which though perhaps tedious was necessary to the right understanding of the present condition of the country, I will mention the

positions and relative importance of the cantons at the beginning of the present year.

At the head of German Switzerland stood Berne, the largest and most important canton, with a young and active government, a wakeful, animated population, the first representative of Swiss radicalism. Next came Zurich, also radical, but more cautious, as its population are chiefly engaged in manufactures, and there is still a powerful aristocratic party. The next canton adhering to radical principles is Aargau, which having a population half Catholic has had to go through many struggles, which could only have been overcome by an active and energetic government.

With these three large cantons is associated Soleure, which, though entirely Catholic, has no Jesuitical tendencies; Thurgau, in most cases Glarus, and Outer-Rhodes (the half of Appenzell). St. Gall has shown some symptoms of an inclination to desert the cause of reform, to which it has so long adhered. The greater part of its population is Catholic; and the exertions of the Ultramontanists have not been without effect in

* 1847.

sowing the seeds of hatred and discord; the Canton of the Grisons has hitherto stood on the national side; and Tessin, though Catholic throughout, has an enlightened government, strongly opposed to the Jesuits, and anxiously endeavouring, by schools and a free press, to lead the people towards Liberal principles.

Vaud, in French Switzerland, is entirely radical; Geneva, liberally inclined; Valais, on the other hand, quite in the hands of the Jesuits, and always seconded by Neufchatel.

The central point of the Jesuits was Freiburg, which, with the Sonderbund cantons, was the fountain of Swiss disturbance. Next in this order stood Lucerne and the small cantons, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, and Zug. The little half-canton, Appenzell-inner-Rhodes, though strictly Catholic, has stood aloof from leagues and associations, seeking to preserve a peaceful neutrality.

The population of the Ultramontane cantons cannot at the greatest computation amount to a third of that of all Switzerland; this third has, however, twelve voices in the Diet, since Uri or Zug send as many members as Berne or Zurich.

CHAPTER VII.

Situation of Zurich—Old and New Town—Coffee House Life—Sunday in Zurich—Coffee House Politics—Education—Universities—German Professors—German Fugitives—Relations of Swiss and Germans—Swiss and French—Literature and Art—Domestic Life—Language—Marriages—Swiss Women—Simplicity of Life—Diet of the Peasantry—Their Content.

On driving into the valley, in the centre of which shines the blue lake of Zurich, the town is seen, stretching out along the eminences on the left, adorned with stately buildings and large cheerful houses; the kernel of the city lying at the point where the Limath rushes violently over its level bed, and where mills and manufactories stand on each side of the river. The streets are in this quarter narrow and steep, and remains of the ancient fortifications are still to be seen here and there; but the further you ascend towards the head of the lake the larger and handsomer grow the buildings; and after crossing the great bridge you read in every surrounding object, in the large fine houses, the splendid hotels, the excellent pavement, and the ani-

mated bustle of the streets, your arrival in one of the largest and most important towns of Switzerland.

Few large Swiss towns, except Lucerne, can boast of environs of such beauty as those of Zurich, indeed no others approach it in this respect but Geneva and Lausanne. Here lies the wide blue lake, with its beautiful vine-covered shores; the country stretching out like a garden of fruitfulness at our feet, varied with corn fields, fruit trees, and cultivation of all kinds; nowhere is a waste spot to be seen; everywhere the industrious hand of man has been at work to win from the earth her ample tribute; that hand too has raised these neat and cheerful dwellings which stretch along both sides of the lake—a continuous chain of country houses, manufactories, villages, cottages, and dwellings of artisans and mechanics, The town seems to stretch out two long and shining arms, and twine them round the lake—arms of her industry and opulence, which run in mysterious ramifications quite into the bosom of the mountains; and fine roads encircle the lake, in whose waters several cantons meet. Zurich has wonderfully altered and revived in the course of the last fifteen years,

since the old walls and bastions have been shattered and cast into the lake, with the ruins of that fearful gloomy tower, that so often has echoed to the sighs of the victims of the old aristocracy.

Even in Zurich, however, old citizens are still to be found who never see without a sigh the places where the strong gates formerly stood, and shrink from passing the desecrated spot; though what these worshippers of the past can have to regret it is difficult to conceive. The old town of Zurich, with its dull narrow streets and tall dingy houses, is no pleasant place of abode. Now, however, on the ground where the former wall stood, new and splendid buildings have been erected in modern taste, and surrounded with gardens and shrubberies. Rows of houses stretch far away towards the mountains, and fine public buildings, amongst which may be mentioned the cantonal school and the hospital, bear witness to the increasing prosperity of the town.

All these fine suburbs, as well as the commune of Hottingen, rearing their triumphant heads above the ancient towers and gables of the old town of Zurich, are entirely the effect of

the vigorous growth of young freedom within the last fifteen years. Here it is that the tourist who intends passing some time in Zurich should take up his abode. The hotels are dear; but any one who hires a lodging, and settles himself according to the customs of the country, may live in this quarter both cheaply and more agreeably than in any other place in Switzerland. For Zurich is not only the most intellectually animated, but also the best place of amusement in Switzerland, being surrounded with coffee-houses and public gardens, whose situations are beautiful, and whose name is legion. Zurich resembles Munich in the mixture of all ranks in its coffee-houses, where may be found the mechanic and the count, the reigning burgomaster, the military officer, or the celebrated artist, and all the more distinguished representatives of the Radical party. In this unpretending freedom of intercourse, the gay, renovated city has greatly the advantage of the graver, quieter Berne, which still retains in every limb and sinew the stiff pride of its ancient aristocracy. In Zurich, even the ambassadors, who were assembled on account of

the Diet, might sometimes be seen in coffee-gardens, amusing themselves amongst the civic Radicals.

On a fine sunny Sunday Zurich is full of life and movement. Crowds of gaily dressed people wander over hill and plain, seeking the mountain forests, or the delightful shores of the lake, or rowing over the clear blue mirror, in boats and gondolas gaily decked with streamers, or filling the numerous and delightful places of amusement; and the prosperity of the place is seen not only in the rich dresses, equipages, and horses of the rich, but in the evident comfort of the mass of the people. The number of coffee and beer-houses of all kinds in the town itself proves how important a part they play in Zurich life—much more so than even on the Rhine and in Western Germany.

Political party spirit running so high, the coffee-houses form convenient centres of union in which each citizen knows where to find his own friends and adherents; and the respective strength of each party is proved by the fact, that the Liberal or Radical coffee-houses overflow, whilst those frequented by Conservatives are but sparingly visited. To the Zurich

citizen it seems indeed a necessary of life to haunt some coffee-house, where he may find his friends, drink his coffee, and play dominoes, as well as meet the distinguished men of the day, read the Swiss journals—even sometimes a French or German paper, and hear news of every kind.

Thus the coffee-houses supply in some measure the place of political public meetings, which take place seldomer in Switzerland than is generally believed,—a fact to be attributed probably to the small number of large towns, since it is only in extraordinary cases that the country people can be excited so far as to assemble for public consultation. In the Shooting and Singing Festivals, in the coffee-houses and clubs, the seeds are sown which are afterwards further developed in the elections, the bustle of which is, however, not so great as in England or America, though the people know well their rights, and are ever improving on that knowledge. I should be much mistaken also if, in Zurich, the influence of the people does not greatly increase, and the more insight the people acquire into their power, the more determined they will grow

to use it, and the tendency will be stronger towards that state of things called *the reign of the mob.*

A considerable educational movement took place in Switzerland in the year 1830, when the necessity of raising the people to a higher intellectual grade appeared to be deeply felt. Universities, designed chiefly for the mass of the people, were instituted in Berne and Zurich; but petty cantonal jealousy stood in their way. Had it been possible to institute one general Swiss university, Swiss nationality might have been thereby greatly promoted; but Berne would not be behind Zurich, Zurich would not be surpassed by Berne; Lucerne and Freiburg were emulous of the same distinction; Basle tried to revive its old university, established in 1459; and it is matter of marvel that twenty more Swiss universities did not suddenly start into life. Yet neither Berne, Zurich, nor any other canton, was either capable of supporting singly the expense of a university, or of furnishing a sufficient number of teachers or pupils. The work therefore remained, in spite of all exertions, petty and fragmentary: the

means being insufficient, the result was unsatisfactory. All that the utmost zeal could do for the Zurich university was done; libraries were formed, collections made. The most distinguished members of the Radical government seemed impressed with the belief that the people were to be benefited chiefly by a better system of education, whose centre must be a university; and in this they were seconded by the moderate among the Conservatives, who contributed largely towards the building of the new educational institutions.

It was fortunate for the Swiss school-reform that at that time so many German fugitives had taken refuge there, most of whom had already acquired some scientific reputation in Germany, and were fit to be entrusted with important professional duties. Men like Schönlein, Oken, and Voigt, who, being persecuted for their opinions, had acquired a high reputation among the Swiss, attracted scholars, and gave to the university the dignity of celebrated names. If, however, there was any expectation that crowds of foreign students would pour into Switzerland, it was without foundation. Not only is Germany

itself overflowing with universities, but the German governments even forbid the attendance of their subjects at the Swiss high schools, and they have only now made an exception in favour of Zurich, on account of the success of the counter-revolution, by which the liberal government has been overthrown. We have seen the effects which followed from the appointment of Dr. Strauss, and this re-action has crushed the first feeble blossoms which science was putting forth. The Zurich University suffered two irreparable losses in the summoning of Schönlein to Berlin, and Professor Keller, a native of Zurich, to Halle; and from this time most professors of reputation have sought to leave Switzerland and obtain appointments at German universities. Probably the monotony of existence, the want of domestic life, the distrust, and even open dislike, of the Swiss towards all foreigners, all tend to raise impassable barriers, and prevent German residents from feeling at home in Switzerland. German professors, moreover, find it difficult to submit to the directions of a republican Council of Education, accustomed as they are to obey the ministers and officers of royalty.

The Swiss rate of remuneration is also very low, the highest salary to which a Professor can possibly attain being a thousand Prussian dollars.* This, though by no means out of proportion to the payments of their highest civil officers, can provide only a very narrow livelihood, every thing being so much dearer in Switzerland than in Germany.

I met but few Germans living in this country who had not a long list of complaints to bring forward against the "egotism, coldness, avarice," &c. of the people amongst whom they lived. But it must not be forgotten, that the Swiss hatred of foreigners is in a great measure attributable to the character of the German refugees, many of whom were vicious, demoralised, and worthless fellows, capable of exciting only aversion and contempt. Some, moreover, took to reforming the Swiss according to their own notions, and with inexcusable presumption meddling with things in which they had no sort of concern, and criticising and ridiculing unmercifully whatever did not suit their fancy.

* £150.

The Swiss are obstinate, but generally patient people—but they lost their patience when they found these unbidden and uncourteous guests, who for the most part had not even brought with them the means of existence, and had seldom any inclination to work, getting into debt, creating disturbances, embroiling Switzerland with her powerful neighbours, and behaving on all occasions as if they were not only quite at home but the masters of the house.

It cannot be wondered at, therefore, if a strong feeling of resentment sprung up towards them, and that the Swiss began to say that they would not endure being brought into strife, and possibly war, with the great powers of Europe, on account of a band of foreign vagabonds like these. But it is also true that the Swiss character has a strong tendency to jealousy, narrow-mindedness, and self-conceit, and that every little town or village believes itself the centre of the world. I would not say that only great nations, such as France, England, or America, should take pride in their national existence; even the smallest countries, when inspired by a noble enthusiasm

for freedom, and conscious of the value of their own active exertions, as part of the great human family, may be well allowed a little national pride. For the Swiss, however, who stand on so low a grade of intellectual cultivation, whose true freedom has hardly yet dawned, and whose activity is limited to so narrow a domestic range, it is much to be desired that they could acquire a more cosmopolitan spirit, and abandon a few of their narrow, local prejudices, and a little of their petty national vanity.

In such a state of things it is natural enough that Germans and Swiss should amalgamate badly, especially as Germans—ready as they usually are to do at Rome as Rome does, and become French, Russians, English, or Chinese, as the case may be—almost invariably refuse to conform to the customs of the Swiss. The French succeed somewhat better, though they also criticise Swiss institutions with unmerciful severity. Switzerland has much more sympathy with France than with Germany; in France her young artisans find instruction and employment; from France come the fashions; the sons of the wealthier classes visit Paris,

and almost every thing that comes from Paris finds favour in their sight. Yet the best workmen of every kind to be found in Switzerland are Germans, numbers of whom are established in all the large towns, whilst French workmen are very rarely to be met with. Thus trade jealousy is also at work to increase the antipathy to Germans; especially as they work better and cheaper than the Swiss, who often bring with them from France the Parisian scale of prices.

Many Swiss assert that the ground of their greater preference for France consists in its more constitutional form of government; the Swiss love of freedom being outraged by stiffly monarchical Germany. Yet this explanation is far from satisfactory, since the Swiss are found in the armies of the most absolute monarchs, and would serve, indeed, the Sultan or the Emperor of China, if they were but sure of good pay.

The Swiss, industrious and persevering though they be, are generally but little fitted for those situations of literary and scientific trust which they grudge the better prepared Germans. Good physicians and lawyers they

have indeed, the French Swiss, or Genevese, having made much progress in natural science; but as for philosophy, it is an unknown name in Switzerland, or if known, it is known only to be despised, at least by "Young Switzerland," as a trade that can earn no bread. Art holds a subordinate place, especially in the German part of the country; the celebrated landscape painters, Calame and Diday, belonging to the French part. They have had no lyric poets of eminence since the times of Bodmer, Gessner, and Salis; in the epic and dramatic forms they have done nothing, and no good novelist has ever been possessed by Switzerland.

Art, which in monarchies may be patronized by princes and the great, must, in a republic, be supported by the people themselves. In Switzerland, however, who would buy pictures or books? Not that there is any want of rich men, but what Swiss millionaire would spend his money on such useless things as these? The bookworm Germans are welcome to as much of their printed paper and painted canvas as they like, since these things bring money in exchange; but for buying such things themselves, oh no!

the Swiss are far too prudent for that. I really believe that in no country in Europe are so few books bought.

If this is the case, even in the large towns, what can we expect of shepherds and peasants? There are here scarce any large estates, the soil being chiefly divided into small freeholds, whose possessors have hardly any cultivation, and who take no interest in art and science. With us, indeed, few enough people *buy* books; yet, as everybody reads, from the prince to the tailor and the hackney coachman, circulating libraries are everywhere in request. In Switzerland, the great mass of the people feel no interest in reading, beyond the daily news of their political party; there are, consequently, very few circulating libraries; and Zurich alone possesses a literary museum, of whose completeness and excellent arrangements, however, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

The seclusion of domestic life in Switzerland is one great cause of the deficiency of enlarged tastes and enlightened views. Every family is a strongly guarded fortress, into which no foreigner can penetrate. The

stranger, bringing letters of introduction to a Swiss family, would receive no invitation, or only one of the most formal and ceremonious kind; perhaps to meet its members merely at a coffee-house, seeing nothing of the ladies, or of the house, and learning nothing of the customs of the family.

Most Swiss families have been accustomed never to mingle freely with any not precisely their equals, and strictly to shut out all intercourse with those decidedly below them.

Not only do the old families keep together in these little exclusive circles—the new are, in this respect, not a whit behind them. Marriages are seldom formed beyond the limits of the circle to which every member of the several families belongs by right of birth, and to which no person born beyond the pale is admitted. The members of families are also strictly classed according to their ages; so that it often happens that the sons and daughters and elders of a family have all different sets of acquaintances, who are scarcely known to the others. The spirit of separation is thus encouraged in them from their earliest youth; they are inoculated with it; and they

seldom seek either love or friendship beyond its boundaries.

In this narrow plan of life there is, of course, but little real education—little true culture of the mind and heart. Many, indeed, send their children to boarding schools, where they go through the old routine, learn a little music and French and so forth, and then come back to tread the same stupid round; and my complaints of the difficulty I experienced in becoming acquainted with the ladies and their domestic life, were answered by assurances that I lost very little thereby.

While the men pass their lives mostly in coffee-houses, occupied in smoking, drinking, talking politics, or play, it is not surprising that social circles, where subjects of general intellectual interest are discussed, should be almost unknown in Switzerland: whence, indeed, in this stiff, narrow life, should arise the tastes which make intellectual conversation possible?

The language, too, even in German Switzerland, though nominally German, is not to be understood by Germans without considerable difficulty and close attention. The worst

German of all is, perhaps, spoken in the canton of Zurich; but other districts may well share the honour; the sing-song accent, the numerous diminutions, contractions, and omissions of the final syllable, everywhere heard in Switzerland, being in the highest degree offensive to a German ear. The peculiarities of dialect, varying often from commune to commune, are so strange as to furnish the philologist with much matter for curious research.

Although High-German is the language of the cultivated classes, the Swiss ladies are, I am told, little acquainted with it; a fact which may be, perhaps, both a cause and a consequence of their universal withdrawal from society. The inferences concerning female education to be drawn from this fact are necessarily very unfavourable, but these deficiencies are probably little considered in Swiss marriages, which are apparently commercial bargains, in which the purse has more concern than either the heart or the head. Once married, mental culture in the women is little called for; general social intercourse being denied them, and their lives being shut within the narrow range of their household

duties and the circle of their female acquaintance. Good housewives they are at least, and certainly not behind their husbands in economical inclinations. Amongst mechanics and artisans, women are much employed in trade and business of various kinds, but, even in the higher classes, household cares play necessarily a prominent part, since they present in many cases the only resource against the attacks of *ennui*.

Marriages between foreigners and native Swiss seldom take place, partly perhaps from the paucity of intercourse; but there are also in many cantons legal difficulties hard to overcome; as for instance, the refusal of all civic rights to the children of such a marriage.

The women of Switzerland are physically much finer than the men, and beautiful faces, principally in the German style, are often met with. The features are usually large and full, the complexion clear and fresh, with light eyes and brown hair. The figure, though seldom slender, is well-proportioned and active. The teeth are however universally bad,

an evil generally attributed to the water; and it is even asserted that no stranger can long remain in Zurich without having his teeth affected.

The universal spirit of economy keeps every Swiss table free from luxury, the richest citizen contenting himself with few and simple enjoyments of this kind. The effeminate indulgences which elsewhere have reached so lamentable a pitch are here unknown or left to foreigners at hotels, the natives contenting themselves with the simplest fare. The rich man at his coffee-house drinks bad Zurich wine, or takes perhaps a piece of cheese and a glass of beer; a gulden (twenty pence) being the utmost amount of expense in which he indulges for his evening's entertainment.

The diet of the lower classes is of course still simpler and poorer. The Swiss peasant keeps no poultry or pigs, with whose eggs or flesh to indulge himself on festive occasions; nor does he himself enjoy the product of his cows. Cattle are much less numerous than is commonly believed, and the peasants often hardly taste meat from one year's end

to another. Not that they are by any means so poor as to be unable to buy meat, for the vine cultivators by the lake are prosperous enough; but they keep no cattle themselves, and do not choose to buy, their inclination for meat not being strong enough to overcome their habitual economy. They live on potatoes, vegetables, bread, soup, and coffee, the latter particularly forming an important article of diet for all the lower classes of Switzerland. A Swiss periodical of some importance indulges in a pathetic strain of lamentation on this subject:—"What do the great mass of this nation live upon?—In the morning, they have roasted potatoes and coffee; at noon, coffee and roasted potatoes; for supper, again potatoes and coffee. This, to the despair of physicians, has become the subsistence of our poor."

Thus then we hear the same complaint in republics as in monarchies; that equality of political rights can do little for the people, except in so far as it tends towards social reform, and a more equal division of the fruits of the earth. In Switzerland, however, such a reform will be difficult to effect; the great

mass of the people being humble, industrious, resigned to and even contented with their fate, and possessing in most instances an unbounded reverence for the rich and great.

CHAPTER VIII.

Zurich since 1839—The Lawyer Government—Division of the Soil—Manufactures—Farming Weavers—Silk Weavers—Universal Suffrage—Position of Work People—Dependence on Masters.

THE revolution of the 6th of September, 1839, being unable to bring back Zurich to the open arms of the "old régime," had effected only a temporary calm, giving it time to collect its strength. The Diet, then sitting at Zurich, had quietly witnessed the struggle, and was unable to prevent it. The old Government was destroyed, having fallen at last by its own hand; and thirty thousand citizens had elected a new one, in which election the popular decision against Radicalism was so clearly expressed, that many Liberals believed themselves obliged to submit, and venerate as law this manifestation of the popular will. The new Great Council chose its officers either from amongst those who had remained

neutral, or from the antagonists of the former reigning party. Wholesome regulations were now made, roads were formed, and bridges built. In school reform, however, the clergy was to have a large share, or, according to the expression used, "a return to divine discipline was to be instituted, that the rising generation might be trained up in the fear of the Lord."

These things excited much distrust in Zurich. The crusaders of the 6th of September had, no doubt, expected many worldly emoluments as the result of their patriotism; but they were deceived. Taxes and duties were still to be paid; and it was difficult in the opinion of many to see what improvement had been made. The rich townsmen had lent much capital on the small peasant estates; and heavy mortgages burdened the land. The priestly party demanded their dues; and now came the schoolmasters, embarrassed with Church interference, and instructed the peasants concerning recent events and their consequences; and finally the Liberal party, recovered from their momentary shock, raised their heads again, and made all Switzerland

resound with indignation, derision, and complaints of every kind against the Zurich government, the betrayer of Swiss liberty, the ally of priests, and nobles, and Jesuits.

Thus circumstances tended from year to year to produce a change in favour of the conquered party. Already in 1842 the majority of the Great Council was much decreased; in '43 it was exactly balanced; and '44 ended the reign of the Conservative Liberals. The burgomasters Muralt and Mousson were displaced, and Dr. Furrer, a lawyer, and Herr Zehnder, a doctor of medicine, were installed in their stead, both of whom were favourably known as natives of the canton, as well as zealous adherents to the Liberal cause.

Thus the Zurich system changed once more, being again rendered popular, though in a much more moderate degree. There was here no question of rash steps and sudden decisions, and if the object of the Conservatives was, as they affirmed, the preservation of existing institutions, they would have no complaint to bring against the present government. Property is protected as well as personal freedom; existing rights have been

nowhere disturbed; taxes, compared to those of other countries, are light; and every individual may follow his own calling, safe and undisturbed. Commercial freedom, a free press, right of petition, and publicity to government proceedings of every kind, are fully established, as also the internal independence of every commune; no abuse of power has taken place, and the sovereignty of the people is fully acknowledged. . . . . .

But little religious liberality is to be found either in Zurich or in German Switzerland generally, for, although indifference as to the reality largely exists, forms remain, and are fanatically adhered to.

The Zurich government may be regarded as a dynasty of lawyers, capable of legislating well on practical matters and questions of legal justice, but inclined to disregard all the nobler aspirations of humanity as idle dreams; and there seems little hope that in Switzerland any single individual should arise, the weight of whose name and character could form a centre of action and excitement throughout the country. No great national leader is possible in a country divided into

twenty-five separate states, speaking four languages, possessing scarcely any means of amalgamation, but many strong elements of discord. No Washington could here arise, unite these opposing elements under one banner of freedom, and bind with superhuman strength the shepherds of Uri, the farmers of Tessin and the Grisons, the Genevese watchmaker, and the Basle millionaire, into the same great league of Swiss nationality and unity. Cantonal jealousies and petty considerations are far too influential to render possible any one leader of united Radical Switzerland. The President Neuhaus, of Berne, did, indeed, after the revolt of Zurich, attempt to play this part, supported by the power of Berne, and armed with the courage and prudence of a true statesman; but he soon perceived how little could be effected by a single hand, which refused to follow the stream, and would not obey the will of a party. Thus it is, more or less, in all the cantons. Political men are held in consideration only as long as they will serve some distinct and powerful faction. They cannot lead public opinion and guide and rule the people according to their own convictions. No single man,

however wise, however energetic, could carry out a system in Switzerland, as the minister of a king, or the chief of a cabinet, could do; for republics are ruled by parties consisting of a multitude of individual wills, each determined on the accomplishment of its own separate object.

Nowhere is this more certainly the case than in Zurich, whose present lawyer-government is a true *juste milieu*, whence nothing great and bold can be expected to arise; it rests its claims on it defence of existing institutions, and is, in union with the majority of the rich and influential citizens, determined to uphold the constitution of 1838 against all retrogression, as well as against all innovations of ultra-democratic eagerness. Thus, although lawyers are here no favourites, their mediating influence is willingly submitted to, since it is found that they protect from injury and aggression and secure the rights of all.

Men of enlarged intellect and warm feelings are not to be expected in such a government; they would, indeed, be of little use, since Zurich would not understand, support, or follow them. We find, however, honest

industrious men, well acquainted with their fellow-citizens, aiming at little, but knowing how to accomplish that little prudently and well.

The dependence of the mass of the people in Zurich, more than in other cantons, on the influence of the richer classes, results, in a great measure, from the number of its manufacturing population, who, however, always aim at attaining their independence by buying a few roods of field or garden ground, and cultivating thereon the vegetables on which they chiefly subsist.

More than three-fourths of the soil in the canton of Zurich is fit for cultivation; it is however much subdivided, there being indeed not fifty estates of a hundred acres in extent. The greater number consist of from ten to twenty acres; the vine lands of often only four or five, or even less. These lands are not enclosed, but lie in disjointed fragments, intersecting each other, which greatly increases the difficulty of cultivation; most of them are moreover heavily burdened with mortgages. Cattle are but little kept, owing also to the subdivision of the soil. The duchy

of Brunswick, twice as great in extent, but containing only the same population as that of Zurich, possesses five times the number of cattle; and since, however excellent may be the cultivation of the soil of Zurich, it is incapable of supporting, at the highest computation, more than three-fifths of its inhabitants, the remainder must depend on trade and manufactures.

Silk and woollen manufactures form the chief field of Zurich activity. The cotton factories occupy from twenty-seven to twenty-eight thousand work people, the silk 18,000, other branches of manufacture about 20,000, and there are about 12,000 artisans, altogether 78,000; and a similar number to this total are employed in agriculture. The woollen manufacture of Zurich is alone twice as great as that of the whole kingdom of Prussia. In this trade, one-third of the persons employed are children between ten and fourteen years of age.

Next in importance as we have seen to the cotton stands the silk manufacture, which has been carried on here for centuries. There are, however, few large silk factories, the wea-

vers working mostly in their own dwellings at their own looms; and being at the same time cultivators of the ground. In strolling through the beautiful blooming villages on the banks of the lake, these people may be seen, some busy at their trade, some at work in their little fields and gardens, for they are weavers and peasants at the same time; and this is a very important advantage, arising from the great division of the soil. Men are thereby raised from the condition of mere working machines; they gain health and strength from active motion in the open air; and are moreover defended, by this double employment, against the attacks of those sudden and otherwise ruinous crises, occurring in the silk trade, as in most other manufactures.

This advantage enables Switzerland, in spite of many unfavourable circumstances, to compete advantageously with the manufactures of other countries. The Swiss workman not being employed solely in manufacture, but possessing also his own farm, or fragment of soil, which he cultivates with great care, is enabled to accept lower wages than are elsewhere sufficient; and when we consider, as

well, the strict economy of these people, their content with their poor way of life, and their unwearying industry, we shall cease to be surprised that their silk wares and printed cottons are so much cheaper and more highly prized than those of England, France, or Germany. The earnings however of a silk weaver do not amount to more than sixteen pounds a year, those of a cotton spinner to very much less; and it may therefore be imagined that, in spite of their comparatively advantageous position, they are too dependent on their employers to have much share in political movements. He who must gain his daily bread by unremitting toil from morning till night, whose every hour snatched from this work endangers his scanty subsistence, has neither time nor inclination to attend to party struggles, and cares not who may rule, not seeing how his own condition can thereby be affected. It is on this account difficult in Switzerland to excite and put in action the mass of the people, who, in spite of their civil freedom, have little consciousness of their own power. They have no leaders; no distinguished man devoted to the cause of the

working classes; no parliament before whom to lay their petitions and complaints. The *Sovereign People* does indeed elect its own Great Council, but, Swiss-like, elects it from the opulent and influential classes.

If in England or France universal suffrage existed, and, as in Zurich, every man of twenty could vote, and every man of thirty be elected a member of Parliament, or of the Chamber, we should soon have a Chartist Parliament at Westminster, and a Chamber of mechanics and peasants in Paris. It may therefore be supposed that the same thing must occur in Switzerland, especially when we consider the position of things in Vaud, as well as the last Genevese revolution, when workmen and mechanics really formed themselves into associations, and made bold communistic demands: but in German Switzerland there reigns a chilling, damping spirit of conformity to all old established customs, a reverence for wealth and its possessors; to which may be added, in Zurich, the dependence of workmen on the manufacturers; and, further, the sub-division of the soil, which places it in many hands; all which circum-

stances tend to give the great majority an interest in upholding all existing institutions. Thus the masses of the so-called free Swiss people remain in miserable circumstances, poor and disregarded, making no effort at social reform, and ignorant of the use of their political rights, which place such ample means of self-help in their hands.

In nothing is the Zurich government more zealous than in repressing all attempts to enlighten the people on the subject of their own position. No associations of workmen are tolerated; the foreign communists are persecuted and driven away. The Swiss manufacturers have, however, so little inclination for similar unions, and are so much accustomed to privations of every kind, as scarcely to entertain even a confused idea of any alteration in their lot.

"What should we do without the factories?" said a workman to me, "We are often hardly pressed, to be sure: but nobody starves in Switzerland. When things get too bad the commune must give us help, or the government distributes corn. So we get on somehow; and we are much better off here

than the linen makers in Appenzell and St. Gall, who often can't get a bit of bread for months together, but live upon cabbages and potatoes."

Two years ago, a young school teacher from the canton of Zurich, of the name of Treichler, began the attempt of diffusing Socialist ideas among the working classes. He published a journal for their instruction; held meetings; and urged the people to form associations among themselves, as a counterbalance to the power of the master manufacturers. These attempts, however, all failed, though not unpopular amongst the workmen; for the employers declared their intention of summarily dismissing all followers of Treichler. He soon found himself entangled in law suits, his paper was discontinued from want of support, and he himself deemed it advisable to fly to Vaud; which, possessing no manufactures, and having therefore less to fear, was more likely to listen to his doctrines. Thus poverty and dependence place the mass of the people, in spite of all political rights, on as low a grade in a republic as in a monarchy.

CHAPTER IX.

Courts of Law—Communes—The "Homeless"—Right of Settlement—Burgher-Rights—Poor and Rich Communes—Schools and the Clergy—Salaries.

In Zurich, as in all the cantons, with the exception of the little pastoral states, the Sovereign People is represented by a Great Council; a member of whom is elected for every twelve hundred citizens, a census of the population being taken every twelve years. Of this Great Council, whose members receive no pecuniary compensation, an election takes place every four years. The executive power consists of a Council of State, of thirteen members, elected every six years by the Great Council. At the head of the government stand two burgomasters, elected every two years, also by the Great Council, from amongst the members of the Council of State. They

exercise authority alternately for one year each, but may be re-elected.

The Great Council elects also, for a period of six years, the Supreme Court of Justice, consisting of nine members, from amongst all the cantonal citizens above the age of thirty, although a third part of the members retire, and give place to others every two years. It is an ancient Swiss principle, universally adhered to, that the judicial order is not to consist, or not exclusively so, of learned men. To act as Supreme Judge, Supreme Judicial President, Criminal Judge, or in fact in any judicial office, though experienced and trustworthy men are sought for, no legal studies are requisite. So satisfied indeed are the Swiss with this state of things, that a Zurich judge, who has discharged his office to the thorough approval of his fellow-citizens, was once a printer; and, though belonging to the party dominant in 1839, was re-elected in 1846; a choice which gave rise to a violent newspaper quarrel.

It is the custom, however, to appoint, in every court, as clerk and registrar, a person of accurate and extensive legal information.

Well-informed and learned men are by no means rare in Zurich; and, as this situation is well paid, the sons and connexions of wealthy and influential families, having studied law, and often even taken the degree of a doctor of laws, are always ready to fill it.

Each of the eleven circuits of which the canton is composed possesses, besides its chief court of five judges, a number of lower courts, composed of from three to five, chosen under the same conditions, every four years, for the settlement of minor causes.

Every circuit elects a governor, called a Statthalter, who holds his office six years, and acts as deputy of the government, maintaining peace and order, punishing crime, levying taxes and duties, and choosing, with the assistance of the circuit council, the village mayors or magistrates.

Every parish or commune, which in Switzerland signifies, not an *ecclesiastical* but a *political* division, has its assembly, consisting of all the citizens whose names, as belonging thereto, stand in the *communal register.* This point of communal registry is of great importance, since all whose names are not thus

entered are of the "*homeless*," a word of melancholy significance in Switzerland; designating a class whose condition yet remains unaltered, though its injustice and cruelty excite the deepest indignation in every unprejudiced mind. That the treatment of the "homeless" is the plague-spot of Switzerland may be gathered from hundreds of Swiss books, containing histories of savage persecutions and frightful cruelties; yet the causes of this atrocity lie deep in the whole social system of the country, which rests on the communal system, the canton being composed of a number of such communes, forming little states *within the State*.

Every child born of registered citizens, becomes, by birth, a citizen of the commune, and thereby also a citizen of the canton and of the Confederation. He shares all political rights, exercises them according to established laws, is supported by the communal funds when in distress, and assists in bearing all the common burdens. He is therefore fully entitled to every Swiss privilege when his name once stands in the communal register; not so, however, should

he belong to the parias..who are unable to prove their communal rights, which, through loss of papers, illegitimate birth, fraud, or neglect, may easily occur. Then he is "*homeless,*" the commune rejects him, and, often hunted like a wild beast, he flies from place to place, is moved from prison to prison, transported from canton to canton, persecuted, tormented, and every where left helpless; for, every one of these little states consisting of a fixed number of communes, there is no space left for him to exist in, nowhere a safe place of refuge.

In Zurich, the right of settlement has been now made much easier of attainment, and thus a way has been opened towards the alleviation and ultimate extinction of the ancient cruelties; but in other cantons, especially the smaller ones, where it is almost impossible to obtain this right, the number of homeless still remains very great, and terrible things are related of their sufferings and persecutions.

A foreigner, desirous of establishing himself comfortably in Switzerland, must, in the first place, obtain his citizenship, that is to

say, he must *buy* it, and often for a high price, never less than a hundred gulden.* This purchase naturalises any children he may have below the age of fourteen, but for any above this age the right must be separately bought. In ancient times, the burgher-right in the towns implied great privileges, since only citizens could carry on trade in the canton. This is no longer the case, and the only remaining rights derived from this source are in the distributions of wood from the communal forests, and sometimes wine from the communal vineyards; reception, if necessary, into the burgher hospital, and pecuniary help when in distress.

This burgher-right, however, costs in the town of Zurich 1100 Swiss francs,† and in the town of Winterthür even 1400; in return for which each Winterthür citizen receives annually three fathoms, or, if married, five fathoms of wood; wine is also distributed to every household; and at every christening the godfather receives a firkin of Winterthür

* A gulden is worth twenty pence; 100 gulden, 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

† A Swiss franc is worth 1*s.* 2½*d.*

vegetables, with an extra allowance in the case of twins. The Zurich burgher receives only a single fathom of wood, and is moreover so burthened with taxes, that the burgher-right, being very expensive, is little in request.

But, in searching for a cheaper place in which to take out your freedom, care must be taken to avoid entering a poor commune, since these are overburdened with taxes of all kinds, poor-rates, church-rates, school-rates, road-rates, &c., all which must be paid, whatever the circumstances of the burgher may be, and from which no citizen who wishes to retain his rights is exempted on the plea of living abroad; let him take up his residence in St. Petersburg or New York, the rates must still be paid, or he loses his rights.

On the other hand, the citizen of the smallest commune may vote and exercise all his political rights throughout the canton. There are many cantons which have come to an agreement by which their respective citizens retain their franchise in the canton where they may happen to be settled, although they are not eligible to offices of any kind

unless natives of the canton. No communal office may be filled before the age of twenty-five; after this age, however, a citizen dare not refuse to fill, for at least some time, any official appointment to which he may be called.

He who is by birth the citizen of a commune is thereby also a member of the Confederation; but the foreigner who has bought his burgher-right must again pay for this second membership at the rate of 400 Swiss francs. No one, however, can enter the Confederation who is not first the citizen of a commune.

The burgher-right in a rich commune is very difficult to obtain. There are some so rich in communal lands that their citizens have not only no burdens to bear, but are greatly enriched by annual distributions, receiving sometimes communal fields and meadows to use during their lifetime; and if any citizen in these is in embarrassed circumstances, enough for a comfortable maintenance is immediately allotted him. Meyenfeld in the Grisons, for instance, is a commune of this kind. Thus the strict separation of one commune from another occasions an injurious inequality; the

inhabitants of one often living in superfluity, unencumbered by any burden, whilst their neighbours are in the bitterest poverty, and borne down by taxes and embarrassments.

This inequality places also a great difficulty in the way of a general citizenship, embracing the whole canton. The new government of Berne did indeed make an attempt in this direction, but was obliged to desist.

At the head of every commune stands a council, composed of a president and from two to twelve councillors. Every commune chooses also, at intervals of four years, its justice of the peace, before whom all lawsuits between members of the commune must first be brought, that peaceable accommodations may be attempted before entering any of the law-courts.

School affairs are managed by a council, consisting of the pastor as president, and at least four members, chosen every four years, the pastor having only one vote in the discussions. This council chooses every school-teacher from amongst three candidates, sent by the Council of Education of the canton. In the same way each parish chooses its

preacher from three candidates, sent by the Church Council of the canton.

The cantonal and circüit authorities have the supreme control of all communal, poor, church, and school funds.

At the head of Church affairs in Zurich stands a council, whose president is the head of the cantonal clergy, and who is selected by the council from three candidates, chosen by a synod formed of the entire clergy of the canton. In like manner, the entire educational concerns of the canton are governed by a council, whose president is chosen by the Great Council every six years: and the school-teachers also form a synod.

Clerical situations were formerly, and in a great measure still are, filled chiefly by the sons and connexions of the old aristocratical families; a circumstance which has contributed not a little towards the distrust and even dislike evinced for them by the people. The pastor is paid by the State, receiving a house and garden, with a salary averaging up to 1500 Swiss francs. All fees are done away with, the pastor receiving nothing on occasions of christenings, betrothments, marriages,

or funerals; and, since the reign of the present Liberal government, the peasants have entirely discontinued making free-offerings, probably considering the pastors sufficiently remunerated, and being little inclined to enrich them yet more by impoverishing their own scanty store.

The position of national schoolmasters has been substantially improved in Zurich, none now receiving less than 300 francs (£18!), and in large, opulent communes sometimes double as much, or more.* At the town schools and the cantonal schools, from 1000 to 1600 francs are given; and at the universities the ordinary professors receive 1800 francs, to which may be added for fees some hundreds more.

The situation of school-teachers is, however, much worse in Berne, and some other cantons, than in Zurich. Only in Aargau, Vaud, and the much decried canton of Basle-country, has popular education been made one of the chief cares of Government. Here it has been substantially reformed and elevated,

* This, which sounds so little to English ears, is, in Germany, considered a large sum, the remuneration of teachers being there excessively low.—Ed.

the authorities knowing well that in popular schools, and not in learned institutions, however useful they may be, lie the chief means of cultivating the people.

CHAPTER X.

Taxation in Zurich—Public Officers—State Servants in Prussia—Military Officers—Rage for Titles—Military Expenses—Orderly Administration—Swiss Emigrants.

On the subject of taxation we hear, in Switzerland, many complaints; but they arise chiefly from ignorance of the situation of other countries in this respect, for nowhere in Europe are taxes really as light. The Swiss in general know little of what passes in the world beyond their mountain walls.

There are in Zurich eleven kinds of taxes, of which the income and property tax is the chief, and decidedly the most reasonable, since it maintains the important principle that not the working classes alone are to bear the burdens of the State. This tax furnishes a sixth part of the entire revenue, and is heartily approved of by all friends of justice and of the popular welfare; but it is to be regretted

that the proposals for a progressive property-tax, twice brought forward in Zurich, have been hitherto rejected. In Basle, where this has been adopted, many rich capitalists have on that account forsaken the town. They were, however, only exceptions, the greater part of those who threatened, such a measure having found it to their interest to remain. The fear of similar proceedings in Zurich caused the rejection of the progressive property-tax; but this will not always remain possible. The popular voice will insist on being heard, and, sooner or later, will attain its object.

If we turn to Germany, to Prussia for example, where agriculture, trade, manufactures, and humble labour of all kinds, is taxed, whilst the millionaire, the superabundantly paid judge, or general, contributes not a farthing towards the revenues of the country, we can hardly fail to acknowledge that the little republic of Zurich is regulated on much juster principles.

The army and officials of Prussia and similarly governed monarchies require, indeed, enormous taxes to support them; for civil

officers are not there, as in Switzerland, the servants of the people, re-elected every two, four, or six years, and all having other occupations or private fortune on which to retire when the voice of the people says, "Go, we want your services no more." The public functionaries of Switzerland are mostly lawyers, physicians, merchants, or landed proprietors, serving their country from inclination or ambition, and not depending on this service for subsistence. The people yields its servants indeed some compensation for their trouble, but it does not reward them with pensions, or with superabundant influence; and no one here seeks to obtain money, honours, or dignities, through the favour of any public authority. In parties, not in persons, lies the life and activity of Switzerland.

All this is reversed in Prussia, where the public functionary is seldom or never a servant of the State, but of the sovereign, depending for his promotion, his success, and even his subsistence, on the favour which he may obtain with his superiors. By the help of such officers is the nation governed. The ruler requires instruments for enforcing his

individual will, on the dull, sluggish, but obedient mass; the more officers, the better enforced it will be. These instruments must be well paid, and it is not to be wondered at, if their whole endeavours are directed to squeezing as many advantages as possible out of their offices, and struggling up towards more dignified and profitable situations. They forget their citizenship and separate themselves instinctively from the mass of the people; seldom or never are they capable of maintaining themselves in any other manner; they are, and remain, official personages, and nothing else.

The actual *people* are moreover shut out, even in the most constitutional of monarchies, from any share in the elective franchise; strict lines of demarcation being drawn in the first place between voters and those who have no political right, and in the second between voters and those who are eligible as candidates. In Switzerland, no inequality of political right exists between citizens. To the people itself, to its simplicity, rudeness, and poverty, to its inexperience, its sluggishness, clinging so fondly to the old and long-

established and to the natural influence of wealth and education, must the fault be attributed if the actual circumstances of the people remain so far behind what they might become.

Military offices are here filled much in the same manner as civil ones. Every Swiss is obliged to serve his country, generally, as in Zurich, from his nineteenth till his fortieth year; and with the commencement of his military service he usually enters also on the enjoyment of his political rights. He who wishes to become an officer must visit the military school, be examined there, and appointed by the Council of War, after which he gradually rises to the rank of colonel in the Federal army. He remains a citizen however, and continues to carry on his business, whether as merchant, manufacturer, or lawyer, as the case may be, bearing about with him indeed the title of his military dignity, but receiving no pecuniary remuneration, except when on actual service, and no pension.

Thus Zurich is enabled to maintain its entire military force at an annual rate of 142,000 francs (8550*l.*). This military force is under such good regulation, that in the course of

four-and-twenty hours, as many thousand men, with artillery and cavalry, can be assembled in the capital.

The number of opulent families whose sons are eager to become officers causes an overwhelming superfluity of colonels, majors, and captains. I have already described how we meet presidents at every turn in Switzerland, who have, however, according to our notions, nothing president-like about them. In the same way communal-councillors, circuit-councillors, and men of the strangest, most varied, and high-sounding denominations abound in every corner. Even these, however, seem not to be considered enough; for all who have at any time of their lives filled official stations continue to bear about with them their former title, prefixing, however, an *ex*. Hence the enormous number of ex-state-councillors, ex-burgomasters, ex-commune-presidents, and ex-communal-councillors, &c., though the rage for titles is as severely satirized in Switzerland as similar follies among ourselves. It remains, however, unabated, especially among the ladies, who appear resolutely determined that their husbands should be betitled, some-

how or other. I heard in Zurich of a "Mrs. Vice-Inspector of Fire-engines" *(Frau Vice-Sprüzen-Meisterin)*, and such instances are not exceptions; let the title be what it will, so it be but a title, it is welcome to a Swiss.

Switzerland resembles republican America in its ravenous appetite for titles. Generals are, indeed, less plentiful in Switzerland, but its colonels would provide the largest army; and these, though not ignorant of their duty, are mostly the peaceablest of men, contented with their titles, which cost the country nothing, and without the smallest desire of entering a field of battle.

The entire military expenses of the canton of Berne would not maintain a single Prussian regiment. One Prussian general costs as much as the whole government of Zurich, and the hundred and fifty generals of the Prussian army consume *double the entire revenues of this little republic*, fifty of which, with a population of twelve million inhabitants, might be governed for the twenty-five million of dollars yearly expended on the Prussian military service.

The military expenses of Zurich being so

trifling, greater means remain for other departments of public service, and *nearly twice as much is here expended on education as on war*, while the outlay for education in Prussia forms scarcely a twenty-fifth part of the cost of its army.

The order and strict economy observable in Zurich and many cantons in every branch of the state expenditure, the well-regulated distribution of taxes, the precision and publicity with which official accounts are kept, the undisturbed state of industry, and the political freedom possessed by every citizen, may lead us to differ from certain German newspaper-writers, who so deeply lament the unfortunate state of Switzerland. The Swiss themselves are far from holding such an opinion; did they hold it here, where no censor reigns, it would not long remain concealed. I believe, indeed, that, spite of all grievances, and all party discord, no Swiss would be easily disposed to envy the good fortune of a despotically-governed subject, or even the condition of a Frenchman or Englishman.

Many emigrants do, indeed, leave Switzerland for America, taking with them their

industry and experience, to establish themselves afresh in the new world, but they there experience no loss, but, on the contrary, rather an increase of civil rights; while their capital procures them nearly fifty times as much of far more fruitful soil than in their native land; and their steady, economical, and laborious habits render them useful and successful emigrants.

CHAPTER XII.

Swiss Newspaper Press—Journals of Geneva—The Free Voice—The Diet—The People's opinion of it—Opening of the Diet—Dreadful Conduct of Mr. Peel—Sitting of the Diet—The Debates—The Deputies from St. Gall—Schwyz—Lucerne—Mr. Druey, &c.

In the early part of my visit to Switzerland, Zurich was the Vorort,* and the deputies from the various cantons had assembled for the Diet, to the opening of which I looked forward with much curiosity. When I remembered the bitter strife that had now been going on so long, it appeared rather awkward that men who were every day making fierce war on each other in the newspapers that were the organs of their several parties should here have to meet face to face. But one of the happy consequences of a free press is that of enabling men to stand fire of this sort without flinching;

* Our readers are probably aware that the word *Vorort* signifies the Directorial Canton for the time being.—Ed.

to disregard the violence of party language, and in the midst of the utmost excitement to preserve a wholesome fear of an illegal action.

The press of Switzerland presents for the most part, it must be owned, a spectacle, very little edifying, of perpetual encounters, in which the champions on both sides avail themselves of every resource which malice and intrigue, great or small, can offer as a weapon to attack a rival. If the language and conduct of the press be considered as a test by which the state of intellectual culture among a people may be estimated, that of Switzerland will hardly deserve a very high place; but much allowance must nevertheless be made for the circumstance that the greater part of the Swiss papers are written for simple country people and citizens, who are best pleased with brief, sharp, and even coarse expressions. People of high culture and refinement are not very numerous in Switzerland; and these journals are commonly nothing more than mere trading speculations. Their contributors are wretchedly paid; regular editor there is perhaps none; the bookseller who owns the paper will write a little himself,

or get some friends who are fond of seeing themselves in print to help him with their lucubrations. The paper is always intended to serve the purposes of some party or other, who send their writings to it gratuitously. Burgomasters, executive councillors, and presidents, give utterance to their feelings and opinions in one; in another, the *ex*-burgomaster, *ex*-president, and *ex*-councillors pour out the vials of their wrath. All influential men, or those who wish to become such, find an organ, or set up one for themselves. But few of these productions exhibit much talent—the field is so infinitesimally small; but personalities, calumnies, and lies are poured forth in them without stint or measure. Here we are told how a Conservative parson said this and that, that he ought not to have said; there, of an executive councillor who has been seen drunk; or a Radical grand councillor who has had a thrashing from a peasant; or of a major or colonel who has been found out in peccadilloes that have had awkward consequences;—and the form and manner of these attacks is often as low and coarse as the matter.

In the mere style of abuse the Conservative press has perhaps a little the advantage over its opponents; but this difference is fully compensated by additional malice, hypocrisy, and Jesuitism. The newspapers written in the French language, which appear in western Switzerland, are more decorous in their expressions; for the people of Geneva especially, wish to be considered on a level with Paris in point of polish and refinement, and this ambition has at least the good effect of improving their external deportment; and it cannot be denied that in this particular the German Swiss are wofully deficient.

In outward form these French papers are also much superior to the German. They are of a good size, printed well, and on good paper, whilst the others are miserable-looking little things, made of a sort of coarse blotting-paper. It is easy to see that a great object in their getting-up is that it shall be at the lowest possible expense. What might be called a leading journal, circulating all over Switzerland, does not exist; but perhaps the new Zurich Gazette, the organ of the present Government, comes the nearest to it. It is

written in a moderate tone, and seldom allows itself to be betrayed into any intemperate expression; but it has nevertheless been exposed to repeated prosecutions, for its discussion of the affairs of Lucerne, and other cantonal relations; but press-prosecutions are matters of common occurrence in this country, offering in the absence of juries and in the existing state of the law an easy method by which Governments may punish their opponents.

There are an immense number of these small Swiss papers, of all colours and shades, from the Jesuit mouth-pieces of Lucerne to the wild Radicals of Zurich or Berne, one of which lately, called the "Free Voice," threatened the deputies who might be friendly to the Jesuits with a *drubbing*.

The editor of this dignified print was formerly a member of the Executive Council, and is now an innkeeper, whose house is the *rendezvous* of the Radicals. Hither come burgomasters, and colonels, and judges, and deputies, to talk over what has happened, or lay plans for what is to happen; and curious enough it is, to a stranger, to find the most influential men in the country sitting in this

way on a wooden bench in an arbour of a coffee-garden, and discussing public affairs over a glass of wine or beer. I have also met at these places men of high distinction in literature and science, amongst whom I may mention Professor Schnell, the author of the "Manual of Swiss Political Law," and the celebrated Professor Oken.

The approach of the sitting of the Diet made Zurich, as I have said, peculiarly lively at the time of my visit, and animated discussions were going on in many quarters concerning its possible results. The general opinion however seemed to be that they would amount to nothing, either for the banishment of the Jesuits, the dissolution of the Sonderbund, or indeed for any other question of importance.

This could easily be known beforehand, for before the meeting of the Diet the Grand Council had been assembled in every canton, and had determined on the instructions to be given to their several deputies. As the press had made these instructions public, it was known which way every deputy would vote on every question, and people were laughimg

at the farce of the Diet, whose impotence and want of freedom were thus openly exposed.

"It would be just as well," it was said to me by a man of some consequence in Zurich, "to spare the country the expense and nonsense of the meeting. What had the deputies in fact to do? To come driving in grand state, with four horses and a sergeant, with their canton's colours on the coach box, to run here and there in a black coat and a sword, make visits, leave cards, loiter away a few months in the session, give and receive a few volleys of abuse, spoil a frightful quantity of blank paper by writing on it, eat dinners, yawn and make other people yawn, and not change one iota in the position of affairs. It would be just as well to let the sergeant come alone, read the instructions he had received, make his bow, and go quietly home again. That would answer the purpose quite as well, and save money, for this bad joke costs us," he added, "at least eighteen thousand francs."

This is I believe pretty much the opinion of the majority of the Swiss upon this subject; and many have also begun to consider of the

expediency of forming a new party, of annihilating the cantonal sovereignty, and establishing a federative system resembling that of the United States of North America

In Zurich, as in the other cantons, the Grand Council had been assembled previous to the meeting of the Diet, to determine on the instructions to be given to their deputies, and to discuss other matters; such as the military establishment, the coinage, houses of correction, &c. Most of the members came from the country, and were very plain-looking men; so that the ceremony of the *Landjagers* marching before them and drumming them in and out, appeared rather comical: but it is nothing uncommon to find republics mimicking, on a small scale, the parade of a monarchy. At the close of the session, the president thanked the assembly for the indulgence they had shown him, and wished that they might obtain all the fruits of their praiseworthy efforts; and with this pious wish the members separated and went home.

This meeting of the Grand Council was the prelude to the Diet, which opened on the 12th of July. According to the twelfth clause

of the Federal Pact, it assembles for two years running, alternately in the capitals of Zurich, Berne, and Lucerne; but extraordinary sessions may be ordered by the Vorort, or on the requisition of five cantons.

The opening of the Diet took place with the usual ceremonies. The deputies, in gala dress, drove the day before to the burgomaster of Zurich and delivered in their credentials; and the ambassadors of the great powers came from Berne, their usual residence, in order to be on the spot during the sitting; and they also paid their respects to his Excellency, as the burgomaster is always called while in office. On the following day, the first Monday in July, the solemn procession to church took place, the Catholics, of course, going to one and the Protestants to another; then all assembled and marched along between two files of militia, drawn up to keep off the pressure of the crowd.

First came the Grand Serjeant, bearing the banner of the Confederation; then the deputies of the Vorort, with the President at their head; then the deputies from the remainder of the two-and-twenty cantons, according to

their rank; and immediately behind them the serjeants, in the colour of their cantons.

The deputies were all in black, with swords and cocked hats; the serjeants wore long sweeping mantles, mostly of two colours, red and yellow, red and blue, green and black; the costumes being half of one colour, and half of the other, and divided perpendicularly; which had a most curious and by no means an elegant effect. The principal official personages in Zurich, and the officers of the Federal army, also formed a part of the procession; and the foreign ambassadors followed in their carriages—drums beating and soldiers presenting arms. Many of the ambassadors, however, were only represented by their secretaries, as they mostly find it convenient to happen to be on a journey on these occasions. Diplomatic personages, accustomed to a courtly, aristocratic life, generally find Switzerland a most unattractive place of residence, and get out of it again as fast as they can. There is no pleasure or comfort for them since the old Patrician dominion has been overthrown; and, since it is of course impossible for them to associate

with Radicals, they are confined pretty nearly to each other's society. The English embassy was, this time, represented by a son of Sir Robert Peel, the secretary, who gave prodigious offence by smoking a cigar as he walked along. He threw it away before he entered the church, but all Zurich was in a fever about this cigar for several days, and the newspapers were vehement in their animadversions on this breach of decorum. The Radicals were most furious of all: they who affect to despise all form could not forgive the English secretary for his disregard of it; and had Switzerland been one of the great powers the world would have heard more of this terrible insult. This time, people contented themselves with representing young Peel as causing his father infinite distress by his thoughtless conduct, shaking their heads at him, and talking of what they would have done had their sons behaved so.

The Hall, in the *Rathhaus* of Zurich, appointed for the meetings of the assembly, is spacious enough;—the President of course occupies a raised seat; before him are seated the secretaries and their assistants; and the

deputies occupy arm-chairs, placed in rows on either side of long tables, and sitting according to the rank of their canton—the rank being estimated not by their size or importance, but according to the date of their entrance into the Confederacy; so that, with the exception of the Vororts, the Forest Cantons of course take precedence of all others—a distinction by which the pride of these shepherds is not a little flattered.

Opposite to the President is a table for the reporters from the newspapers, and behind them some benches to which spectators are admitted with tickets, on which it is observed that it is necessary to come in full dress. To this precept, however, it does not seem customary to pay much attention. The gallery is devoted to the reception of the public.

The deputies of the cantons are obliged by etiquette to appear in full dress, with swords. Every one speaks from his place, merely standing up; then the question is put, whether any one has any further remark to make: if not, the votes are taken by show of hands.

Every deputy has before him writing materials and a large portfolio; and these gentle-

men talk, read the papers, receive and answer letters, and pay seemingly very little attention to what is going on; which, in fact, it is hardly necessary they should, as every one must vote according to his instructions. There is no room for eloquence, and no chance of influencing the decisions, either by superiority of intellect or by party intrigues. In the quiet old times, ere yet the patrician rule was disturbed, nothing could probably be more uninteresting than the meetings of the Diet; and their refusal to make their proceedings public was quite superfluous, for no one would have cared to listen to them. Even now, the sittings are extremely wearisome to a stranger, unless he has a chance of having them enlivened by party disputes; but even then, he seldom brings away with him any very clear notion of what the dispute, and the noise, and the mutual invectives have been about. He recollects "a quarrel, but nothing wherefore."

At the sittings at which I was present there was only one man of remarkable talent, namely the deputy from St. Gall, Mr. Baumgartner, who had been formerly an arch Radical and a

violent opponent of the Jesuits—who was once the soul of all Radical movements, and the hope and pride of the party. But, on some offence being offered to his ambition and vanity, he made peace with Rome and the priests, who had represented him hitherto as a very tool of the Evil One; and his house became the centre of the intrigues which they set on foot in St. Gall, in the hope of bringing the canton back to the bosom of the true Church. Now he battles with all the furious zeal of a renegade for the very principles which, a few years ago, he was as furious in condemning. He is the best speaker in the Diet, and is regarded by many as the man of the most talent; and it is a pity that this talent should not be supported by a higher character.

Baumgartner's influence has been, however, entirely destroyed by his apostacy; for nothing sinks a man so entirely in public opinion. Those who have always been consistent—let their opinions be what they may—will command a certain amount of respect. The deputies of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Lucerne, Freiburg, and Valais, are all men who defend through thick and thin their

Ultramontane principles, the Sonderbund, the Jesuits, and the whole course of their petty cantonal policy and their family rule: but they have always done so.

The best known of these gentlemen is Theodore Abyberg, deputy from and landamman of his native canton of Schwyz—a man six feet high, and of distinguished appearance, the descendant of one of the most ancient families, and one of the most opulent landed proprietors in Schwyz.

Corporeally he towered above almost all the other deputies—intellectually, this was certainly not the case, for when I saw him he spoke with great violence, and behaved quite like a rude mountain-chief.

He often allowed himself the most unbounded licence in abusing the Radicals, and on one occasion carried his personalities so far that Mr. Eytel, the little, pale-faced deputy from Vaud, took him at his word when he said, as he was in the habit of saying, that "every one knew what his name was, and he was ready to give any satisfaction." Mr. Eytel accordingly requested the landamman to favour him with satisfaction by means of the

customary few ounces of powder and leaden bullets; but Mr. Abyberg, according to the newspapers, declined the combat.

The deputy from Lucerne was Mr. Bernhard Meyer, an insignificant but fanatical man, who went generally by the name of the Sardinian, because, after the defeat of the Free Corps, he had been to Turin to negotiate for having the prisoners transferred to Sardinian fortresses. He was an especial object of hatred in Zurich; and report said that he always went armed. He had a thin, hard-featured face, that seemed always ready to inflame itself with anger whenever opportunity offered; and indeed opportunity was never wanting, for, if there was nothing else, there was always the subject of the Free Corps; and "robber," "bandit," "scoundrel," "beast," and such like complimentary epithets, were at all times ready.

Since many of the first men in Switzerland had joined in this said Free Corps expedition, and it happened that some of those very men were present as deputies at this session, the indecorum of this behaviour was the more striking. The deputy of Soleure, to whom

especially some of these "taffeta phrases" seemed to be addressed, took the matter up, and sent Mr. Meyer a challenge, but Mr. Meyer very wisely considered that his country still had need of his services, and preferred living to serve her. I will not, however, detain my readers with a more detailed account of these deputies, with one exception, Mr. Druey, concerning whom I must say a few words.

Mr. Druey, President of the Council of State in Vaud, has in my opinion the most logical head, the greatest amount of information, and is the most eloquent speaker in the Diet, or perhaps, I should say, would be, if his physical equalled his intellectual qualifications. He has a short but powerful frame, a well-formed head, with a broad, thoughtful forehead, and a brilliant eye, as well as the pleasant open bearing that befits a man of the people. As a decided Radical, and leader of the party in his canton, he advocates the cause with boldness and animation, but without allowing himself to descend to the coarse personalities of his rivals. He speaks in French, and the happy epigrammatic turns of that language doubtless assisted him in the spirited and

pointed replies he made to the accusations of his opponents; but most of them are greatly his inferiors.

Mr. Druey has studied in Germany, visited both Göttingen and Berlin, and is one of the few Swiss who see in philosophy something more than a beggarly trade, or a knack of playing with words; one of the few also who have looked beyond their native mountains to the general relations of the great European family, and who have had the advantage of a thorough, scientific education. On this foundation have the political opinions been built which he has maintained with unvarying consistency through the vicissitudes of a very chequered public life. He is a man of the people, but an opponent of the Free Corps, and of all interference in the internal affairs of any canton which exercises its sovereign rights according to the decisions of the majority of the people. He has defended the Zurich Revolution of 1839, as well as the changes that took place in Lucerne; but in the Convent question he declared himself for the restoration of the convents in Aargau, by which he has drawn on himself the vehement displeasure

of his party. In the Diet he is one of the few who have any claim to be regarded as statesmen, or are calculated to awaken any general interest.

In conclusion I may mention Dr. Emil Frei, the deputy from Basle-country, to whom I was from time to time indebted for the play of wit and irony by which he often enlivened the dulness of the assembly. He is a young and gifted man, who, as his little half-canton can of course exercise no serious influence on the course of affairs, seems to amuse himself by turning them all on the ludicrous side, and he wields his bright, sharp weapons with a skill and force that makes his rivals wince. Whoever can get the laughers on his side is sure to possess some power over any assembly, though it is true that neither jest nor earnest can produce much fruit, since every question is settled elsewhere.

Considering this also, it appears of little consequence that the deputies in the Diet speak four different languages, though this would otherwise be a very serious obstacle to their proceedings. Tessin speaks Italian; the Grisons, Romanesque, Italian, and German;

Vaud, Geneva, and Neufchatel, French; and the rest of the cantons mostly German. The acts of the Federation are published in German, with a French translation. It often happens however, I should add, that the deputies of Tessin and the Grisons decline their privilege of speaking in the language of their cantons, and use those which are better understood. To a spectator the effect of these motley debates is very curious, and for the unhappy clerks and registrars it must make awful work.

It will readily be admitted that communities connected together only by this impotent Diet cannot, without the utmost difficulty, be brought to co-operate for purposes of general benefit. Every canton acts for itself, and, since even the directorial dignity oscillates between Berne, Zurich, and Lucerne, every two years there comes a change of principles, a change of influences, and a change of men.

CHAPTER XIII.

Internal and Transit Trade—Salt Monopoly—Foreign Commerce—Balance of Trade—Dependence on Foreigners—Manufacturing Industry—Commercial Enterprise—Security of Industry—Proposed Reforms.

ALTHOUGH trade is said to be free in Switzerland, there are an extraordinary number of places where, for roads or bridges, tolls are levied in various forms, which are often very burdensome to the internal commerce of the country. Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Vaud, and some other cantons have abolished some of these tolls, and removed others to the external frontier; where at least they have not the prejudicial effect I have spoken of, on the domestic trade: but other cantons, the small ones especially, look to these as a chief source of revenue. They have import, and export, and transit duties upon certain colonial goods, duties on wine and vinegar, duties on cattle,

&c.; and a most inventive variety in their mode of levying them, which is sometimes by weight, sometimes by the kind of carriage used for transporting them, sometimes by the number of horses, or something else. The transit duty in Switzerland is seldom less than four *kreutzers* (1½*d.*) per cwt. per Swiss mile; so that one may fancy the sufferings of the owner of a waggon-load of goods coming from Italy for instance, and being stopped, not only at the frontier of every little state, but at a dozen places in the interior.

The transit trade of Switzerland to France and Germany has indeed unquestionably declined from this cause, and its internal trade also suffers. The Swiss need make no complaint of foreign countries, they damage themselves most by these ruinous imposts, and need not wonder if trade seeks other channels. The commercial freedom of Switzerland is therefore a mere delusion.

The post-offices are as much in want of revision as the system of tolls. There are in Switzerland no less than sixteen separate establishments of this kind; while in all Ger-

many there are only thirteen. The postages also are excessively high, and the Diet, the only mediator between these five-and-twenty sovereign states and half-states, has declared itself incompetent to effect any change.

One tax, very oppressive to the people, is the monopoly of salt by the governments, which draw from this source a net profit of two millions of francs. The salt is all imported, although Switzerland contains salt mines of her own; and it is sold at a rate that leaves a profit of a hundred per cent. This is an abuse that can now be laid to the charge of few, even of the absolute monarchical governments; and, on the whole, Switzerland can certainly not boast of any very enlightened or rational system of taxation. We must not forget, however, a great advantage which it possesses in the fact, that as soon as the people are awakened to the consciousness of an abuse in the internal government of the cantons it is pretty sure to be remedied; and, indeed, must be, if the majority desire it. Since 1830, the period when the people at large really attained to freedom, there have been but seventeen years; and yet many most

important reforms have been begun, and even in some instances carried through, which cannot but lead, in future, to still greater amelioration. The place of the present cantonal legislation will then, it is to be hoped, be supplied by one truly national, which is the great want of Switzerland; for then only can the present countless contradictions be reconciled, and a Swiss people, in the true sense of the word, be said to exist.

The commercial relations of Switzerland with her neighbours, Austria, Sardinia, France, and Germany, of which I will here take a brief survey, will give an idea of the great industrial activity of the Swiss; as well as of the obstacles with which this industrious people has had to contend.

Sardinia has by its own manufactures, and the duties established to protect them, excluded a great part of the Swiss productions; Naples also is closed by the amount of her impositions; but Tuscany, the Roman States, and the free ports of Italy are still great markets for the Swiss red-dyed cottons. From Trieste, Ancona, Leghorn, and Genoa, these are also carried to Turkey and the towns

of the Asiatic coast. Austria has by her prohibitive system fairly closed her frontiers to Switzerland, and only by the assistance of the smuggler can her manufactured goods find their way across the Vorarlberg and the Tyrol; cattle, cheese, fuel, building materials, and fruit, are exported, as well as cotton and cotton yarn; all of which, in 1840, did not amount to two millions of gulden; whilst Switzerland received from Austria, silk, spirits, iron goods, corn, salt, woollen goods, and millinery, to the amount of nineteen millions; so that on this side there is an immense disproportion between exports and imports.

In her relations with France also, Switzerland is placed by the French prohibitive system at a great disadvantage. Silk and cotton manufactures are entirely excluded; and, though the duties on watches and jewellery have been much lowered, with a view to put a stop to the extensive system of smuggling, it may be doubted whether Switzerland has gained much by the change. Out of twenty millions worth of exports to France, five millions only (in 1840) consisted of articles of industry; the remaining fifteen were of

natural productions and raw materials; whilst, in the exports of France to Switzerland the reverse takes place; three-fourths being in manufactured goods, and only one-fourth in natural productions. The balance of trade is therefore from eighteen to twenty millions in favour of France; and the former country must be wholly impoverished did not the industry of her inhabitants open for her markets in Turkey, Asia Minor, America, India, and even China, where she obtains the means not only of supporting her working classes, but even of increasing her prosperity.

That the working classes are however but very poorly supported, I have already stated in speaking of the state of the industrial population of Zurich.

The trade with Germany is more advantageous than with its other neighbours. The Customs Union has indeed established duties on its manufactures; but they by no means amount to prohibition, and will not, it is to be hoped, be increased. Natural productions either come quite free, or pay a very small duty; and even with manufactures the Swiss do much business at the fairs of Leipsig,

Frankfort-on-the-Maine, &c. The imports of raw silk to Germany are almost wholly from Switzerland, and the fine muslins and curtain stuffs of Appenzell and St. Gall find their way to the Netherlands, Moldavia, Wallachia, Poland, Russia, and even as far as Armenia and Persia.

Switzerland does not produce food enough for its inhabitants, and, though it has cattle and cheese to spare, it imports from Germany not only corn, to the amount of twelve millions of gulden, but also butter, of which a great deal is used, though perhaps more for travellers than for the Swiss themselves.

The dependent position of this small country is obvious enough; and with Germany in particular, whence it draws several of the first necessaries of life, and along whose rivers and great roads its productions have to travel, it is absolutely necessary it should remain in friendly relations; but it cannot be denied that it presents a most interesting spectacle, with its busy population of workers in cotton and silk, and jewellers, and watch-makers, and farmers, and herdsmen; diligent, active, and orderly in their habits; overcoming all the

difficulties of their position; and, when surrounding countries had closed their markets against them, seeking and finding others in the most distant regions of the earth.

This little Switzerland, with its two millions of inhabitants, and the one-half of its territory barren mountains, produces what is equal to one-fourth of the productions of France, with her population of upwards of thirty-three millions, half as much as all Austria, and as much as all Prussia.

One circumstance is remarkable, namely, that almost all the manufacturing industry of Switzerland is found in the Protestant part of it, while the Catholics possess little or none. Very often, as in Appenzell, the line of demarcation is quite sharply drawn. Manufactures and Protestantism cease at once, and give way to the herdsman and the shepherd; and that not because there is any sudden change in the natural features of the country, for the little canton of Glarus, for instance, is a high mountain-land, and yet it abounds with industrial activity. But the people of Glarus are Protestants; they have fewer fast days and holidays; and Protestantism awakens the

powers of the mind, abates the influence of the priesthood, and teaches men to rely on their own exertions. In Germany we have often occasion to make the same remark: of two villages close together, the Protestant community will be clean, industrious, and prosperous, while their Catholic neighbours will remain always poor and dirty.

It is very remarkable that, with all the commercial activity and love of speculation manifested by the Swiss, they should yet cling so firmly to all that is old and long-established among them. They will sail with their goods to Mexico and India; but they would never think of travelling to any other country of Europe, to visit its manufactories and profit by any new inventions and improvements they might find there, although they have few new inventions of their own.

I was told by a friend, that a short time ago he had been talking to the son of one of the greatest and wealthiest manufacturers of Zurich of the advantage it would be to him to see the factories of Germany, Belgium, and especially of England; so that the young man became very desirous of making the journey.

But the next day the father came to the seducer, and reproached him vehemently for putting such things into his son's head. "The manufactory was going on well enough," he said; "he could get a living out of it: innovations only made mischief, and travelling cost money." This is indeed, in some measure, the secret of this indifference to foreign improvements. A Swiss has the greatest possible aversion to spending money; this cannot be avoided in travelling, and, rather than incur immediate expense, he will continue to confine himself to the manufacture of articles in which he still does not fear competition.

The political disturbances of Switzerland have as yet done little or no injury to her trade, and indeed they make far less difference to the people at large than foreigners imagine. The Radicals, who hoist the standard of progress, are of course bound to pay, and have paid, especial attention to the regulation and promotion of industry. They are fully aware what a power lies in its developements, and how indispensable to Switzerland is not only its maintenance but its increase,

and thence proceed their demands for a unity of commercial systems, the establishment of a Swiss Customs Union, of a Federal Chamber of Commerce, and the abolition of internal duties; as well as for the maintenance of a firm position towards foreigners. These things belong to what may be called the articles of faith of the Radical party.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Lake of Zurich—Ulrich Von Hutten—The Bridge of Rapperschwyl—City of Rapperschwyl—The Linth Canal—The Rigi—Public Carriages—Pedestrian Travelling—Fine Scenery—Canton of Zug—Social Organization—Administration—A Criminal Landamman—The Ass of Schwyz—Moral of the Story—Fall of the Rossberg—Glorious View—Site of Lucerne.

STEAMBOATS run daily on the Lake of Zurich, which is sixteen miles long, to all the places on its shores, and whoever wishes to visit St. Gall, Appenzell, or the Grisons, or Lucerne, and the small cantons of the interior, will do well to avail himself of this cheap and convenient mode of conveyance. It is delightful too to glide over the bright blue waters of the beautiful lake, and see the richly-cultivated shores moving swiftly past, and becoming ever higher and more picturesque, till towards the south they rise into wild naked rocks, or wood-crowned heights, or blue mountain-tops, towering to the skies. Conspicuous amongst these is the Etzel, on which

tradition says the wild King of the Huns stood to look down on a desolated land. This southern shore belongs to the canton of Schwyz, and fine herds of cattle are seen grazing on green pastures, which alternate with strips of cultivated land and blooming orchards. The dye-houses, the bleaching-grounds, and cotton and silk manufactories, are seen no more, for in the land of Schwyz the people know nothing of manufactures.

The low, reedy island which rises in this part out of the lake belongs to Schwyz. It has a mournful and desolate appearance, with its few scattered trees and houses, and its single church; but the eye of the wandering German is drawn towards it by an irresistible attraction, which makes him forget for the moment the mountains of Glarus, the stately Glarnisch, with its snowy crown, and the blue jagged peaks that rise and beckon from the yet distant St. Gall.

That island is Ufenau, sung by many a poet celebrating the memory of one of our mightiest dead, who here, after his long wanderings and persecutions, found at length everlasting repose. Ulrich Von Hutten lies

buried here—the bold, chivalrous, true German man, who remained to his latest breath the champion of freedom, truth, and right, against tyranny, and hypocrisy, and slavery in every form. It is known that he died at Ufenau, on the 13th of August, 1529; but the spot where he is buried could not be discovered. Perhaps it is well that it could not, or the monks of the convent of Einsiedeln, to whom the island belongs, might have dug up the bones of the "accursed heretic" and executed judgment on their mouldering remains.

Yet the fate of Ulrich Von Hutten was after all but that of many valiant men in Germany and elsewhere; worn out by sorrow and persecution he died, and was forgotten by an ungrateful nation! Does not our old Emperor Frederic sit still in the cavern? * and is not his silver beard grown so long that it will pass three times round his stone table? and do not the old ravens fly still round the summit of the mountain for the day of his resurrection, and of the breaking of the spell that

* In allusion to a legend concerning the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who is said to be under enchantment in a cavern somewhere in the centre of Germany.—Ed.

binds him? The day of freedom and national unity for Germany has not yet dawned!

From the Swiss shore of the lake, beyond Ufenau, a bridge crosses to the old town of Rapperschwyl, belonging to the canton of St. Gall, which touches the lake at its eastern extremity. This bridge is certainly one of the longest in existence, being nearly two miles in length; it is not very admirable as a work of art, being wooden and of very ordinary construction, in many places without even a hand-rail; but it is still of the greatest service for the intercourse between the two shores, and especially for the Abbey of Einsiedeln, which lies in a valley among the mountains of Schwyz. A bridge was built in this place as early as 1358, for the convenience of the troops of pilgrims who came to visit it; but the present exists only since 1818. It is still crossed, however, by many pious visitants to the shrine of the miraculous Virgin at Einsiedeln, where numbers of these poor people leave their last penny, and beg their way home again. The number of the faithful increases from year to year, for great exertions have lately been made to promote these devout practices.

On the northern shore, the ancient town of Rapperschwyl, with its towers, lies in a romantic spot, a tongue of land projecting into the lake. It is a Catholic town, and has moreover a Capuchin convent; but it is also so advantageously situated for trade and industry, that many cotton and other factories have sprung up in the city and its environs; the owners of these factories however are, it appears, Protestants, who form as usual the most opulent portion of the population.

The river Linth, bringing with it the waters of the Wallenstatter Lake, enters the Lake of Zurich at its eastern end, having received on its way many of the mountain-streams of Glarus.. At the beginning of the present century it had accumulated such heaps of rocky fragments in its bed, that it became completely stopped, and the Wallenstatter Lake overflowed its banks, and converted the whole of the flat country between that and the Zurich Lake into a marsh.

The mischief was remedied by the formation of a canal, under the superintendence of Colonel Conrad Escher, of Zurich, whose family has been allowed since, by way of dis-

tinction, as there are many Eschers, to bear the name of *Linth*-Escher. Families in Switzerland are so wide-spreading in their ramifications, that it is often found necessary to add the name of the wife, or of an estate, if they happen to have one, to the original family appellation.

The Linth Canal is eight English miles long, and has cost a million of Swiss francs; but the advantages afforded by it have not been merely the draining of the marsh, but also the disappearance of an intermittent fever, which since the inundation had begun to decimate the population, and the re-establishment of the navigation. Large and small vessels now pass up and down, and the commercial intercourse is very lively; for all the productions of the industrious little Glarus pass this way on their road to the Grisons or to Pfeffer. Few tourists find their way here, however, though Appenzell, Glarus, and the Grisons boast many magnificent natural features. They almost all follow one or two routes, and very few give themselves any trouble to inquire into the condition of the people. They have mostly strolled through

the cities and seen the mountains, and visited the glaciers; and, having come to an understanding with the guide-books, have been taken back from whence they came.

The Rigi is one of the spots that every stranger ought to visit, for from it the most magnificent view into the mountain-world of Switzerland is to be obtained; and whoever wishes really to make himself acquainted with the country must not allow the lake of the Four Cantons to form the limit of his journey, but must spend some time in Eastern Switzerland and the interior cantons. Such a journey may require a little more exertion; but he will bring home with him far more interesting recollections than if he had never left the beaten path.

Travellers who mean to visit the Rigi can start from Zurich early in the morning with the steamer, and, landing at Horgen, get into a public carriage, which conveys passengers to the little town of Arth, at the foot of the Rigi. The fare, the whole way, is only five francs: but it is not very agreeable, after having come expressly to see the beauties of the country, to find one's-self stuffed into this

little post-coach, with only windows enough to admit a very scanty amount of air and light. Woe be to the unfortunate whose evil stars shall lead him to pack himself in among these bolsters and cushions, when the sky is flaming with a July sun; for the roof of the carriage is made of sheet-iron, and he will then have a most lively idea of the sufferings of the prisoners under the Piombi at Venice.

Most of the public carriages of Switzerland are great, clumsy machines, with twelve or fifteen places, sometimes handsomely fitted up, but always with the same great fault, that travellers in them see little or nothing of the country. Wherever it is possible, it is advisable to take an outside place, or if one is travelling with a friend, or if there is no objection to increase of expense, to hire a private conveyance.

Those who can trust to their own feet however will always find them the best conveyance in Switzerland, especially among the mountains; in this way only can any one become thoroughly acquainted with both the country and the inhabitants, and find enjoyment that will amply compensate many a weary walk;

enjoyment which the tourist who rolls along in a carriage can seldom obtain. One can rest where and when one will; under shady boughs, and by the side of babbling brooks, pitch one's tent wherever the prospect looks inviting, and not be obliged to hurry past where we would fain linger, or stop when we would rather go on. A pedestrian also can better watch his opportunities for the good weather, indispensable for ascending mountains, which is by no means always secure in this country; and nothing can be more vexatious than after having come expressly for this purpose, and spent time, labour, and money, to have to return without one's object.

The Rigi coach from Horgen drives up a fine but steep road till it reaches the top of a ridge of the Albis chain, whence one obtains a magnificent prospect. Immediately below, lie the gaily varied shores of the Lake of Zurich, and the mountains swimming in blue vapour in the distance. The Rigi itself rises in vast, bold masses; it is not one mountain, though it is called so, but a group of mountains, more than four-and-twenty

miles in circumference, rising up between the lakes of Zug and the Four Cantons. Behind that again Mount Pilate rears his vast bulk, still higher, grander, more gloomy. On the right lies the wide, fruitful, hilly land of Aargau; in the distance, Lucerne; and almost beneath one's feet, glitters the pretty little Lake of Zug, surrounded by the canton from which it has its name. To the left, lies the land of Schwyz, where mountain is piled on mountain, and snowy peaks dazzle afar off.

It was when I beheld this prospect, that for the first time I felt that Switzerland deserved reputation. From this point the road sinks again rapidly to the valley of the Sihl, where crossing a little rivulet brings you to the canton of Zug; the smallest of the whole confederacy, where a little community has dwelt as a separate people in the lap of the mountains for five hundred years. The little capital is beautifully situated on the lake, and lies embosomed in gardens. It is the abode of three thousand people, the whole canton having only fifteen thousand inhabitants; and in this tiny state all things go on in a very comfortable, patriarchal fashion.

The neighbourhood of Zurich has nevertheless produced some effect, and society is not altogether so Arcadian as on the other side of the lake, in the Forest Cantons, as they are called. Some silk-weavers have found their way hither across the Albis chain; and the people have rich pastures and fine cattle in abundance; they raise a little corn, and wine too, and a breath of the sweet South finds its way up these valleys, and bids the chestnut trees flourish in their native beauty.

Zug is by no means so devoted to its priests as Lucerne and Schwyz; it has indeed joined the Sonderbund, for the families at the head of the Government were willing enough to make common cause with the priests, and think by their assistance to keep a firmer hold of the reins; but a liberal party has sprung up even in Zug (for no place is safe now-a-days,) which is very well aware of the danger of such a combination. The people of Zug are far less fanatical than those of the old cantons, and on the occasion of the invasion of the Free Corps, when they went to the assistance of Lucerne, they yet protected many of the prisoners from brutal ill-treatment by the Lucerne people,

and gave them food, when they were almost starving.

It is in this canton that we first meet with the political institutions of the pastoral states. Here is no Great Council made up of the representatives of the people, but the male community of citizens above nineteen years of age meet in general assembly (the *Landsgemeinde*) on the first Monday in May.

Zug entered the Confederacy in the year 1352, when the Austrian party and the nobles were defeated by the country people, but a city aristocracy has always remained. Its present constitution is a work of the year 1798 and the epoch of the Restoration, and is a sort of cross between a representative system and a pure democracy; some part of the sovereign authority being withdrawn from the General Assembly, and centred in a Council of State.

The General Assembly does little more, indeed, than choose the officers of government,—the Landamman, who is the head of the State and the highest executive power, the cantonal secretary, who corresponds to what we should call the minister of the interior and

of finance, the deputies to the Diet, and some others.

The canton is divided into two districts, to the interior of which belongs the town of Zug: and the Landamman and the deputies are chosen every two years alternately from either district.

The communes or parishes of the canton assemble on the second Sunday in May, and elect the Cantonal Council, the Triple Council, and the Common Council. They can propose laws, but these projects or *bills* must be laid before the Cantonal Council for examination, and then referred to the Triple Council, which is the supreme legislative authority. Every commune, however, manages its own affairs and has its own tribunal, the decisions of which are definitive in minor cases. The Common Council also administers the property of the Church and of the poor, takes the guardianship of orphans, superintends the police, and exercises a strict kind of moral censorship over the relations of the sexes, and affairs of matrimony.

The rights of sovereignty are really exercised, not by the people, but by the few fami-

lies who fill the offices of government; the pay of these being so small, even when they are paid at all, that the poor, or those who have to depend on their own exertions for a maintenance, could not accept them. The rich, nevertheless, often find means of making them profitable enough, and as the reckoning kept is neither strict nor well managed, and the people are not in a very advanced intellectual state, they have for a long time had things all their own way. In some cases they have scandalously abused their power, as in the monopoly of salt and other privileges, as well as by selling their influence in the Confederacy for Austrian or French gold, and sometimes even appropriating public property to their own use. The French and Austrian parties in the canton, at the head of which stood respectively the ancient families of Zurlauben and Schumacher, had a terrible feud at the beginning of the last century, in which the Zurlaubens were vanquished and driven from the country, and their names and those of their adherents stuck upon the gallows, the house of Schumacher having triumphed. But after a few years fickle fortune deserted

them, and they themselves had to suffer the like.

The Landamman Anton Schumacher, who had defrauded the State, was condemned to the galleys of Sardinia, and sent thither in chains; Sardinia having often the complaisance to find room in her prisons for the political offenders of her Swiss neighbours.

In recent times this family influence has rather increased than diminished, and many valuable citizens have left the country in consequence; the Landamman Siedler, for instance, who has now settled with his family in Zurich. In these little states the hostility of party is often more terrible than in absolute monarchies, for there the discontented are at least tolerated if they remain perfectly quiet, but here silence is not enough; and indeed in a republic, where a man has his duties as a citizen to perform, it is scarcely possible for him to refrain perfectly from the expression of his sentiments.

From Zug the road led along the shores of the Lake, which with its deep blue waters seemed to cut into the mountains, and terminated at the village of Arth, at the foot of the Rigi.

At this little town, which belongs to Schwyz, I heard a story that may serve to illustrate the spirit that prevails in this canton.

The church at Arth had been long in possession of a worm-eaten wooden ass, which on Palm Sunday had always figured as Balaam's ass in a certain "mystery," and had been, to the delight of the faithful, exhibited, handsomely decorated, at the manger. On the Palm Sunday of about two years before, however, the ass was suddenly discovered to have vanished. Robbers' hands had stolen him away, and none could tell whither he had been carried. All Arth was in an uproar, and the terrible news soon spread through all the republic of Schwyz. At length, after much fruitless searching, and many lamentations, as there was no help for it, another ass was made, who officiated, it is to be hoped, in a satisfactory manner.

After some time, however, it began to be whispered about that a young citizen of an opulent family, who was a captain in the Schwyzer guards, had, in company with some thoughtless friends, stolen the venerable wooden ass, and burnt him, by way of a joke.

The villains, it was supposed, had been at the time of committing this dreadful act under the influence of wine; but it would have gone ill with them, in the first paroxysm of popular indignation, if they had not saved themselves by a hasty flight. Fortunately for them the canton of Schwyz is not very extensive, and there are no lines of electric telegraphs, so that the captain got safe to Zurich, lived there half a year in banishment, and was at length, by the exertion of great interest in the Cantonal Council, permitted to return on payment of a fine of 15,000 francs. From this story we may draw the moral, that in Switzerland it is necessary to treat with respect asses who enjoy the protection of the Church.

A steep footpath leads from the town of Arth up the Rigi; a longer one passes by Goldau, and the once fertile valley, and across those huge tombstones that cover the bones of the five hundred unfortunate people who, in 1806, were buried under the fall of a mountain.

Between the Rigi and the Rossberg, there lay in this pretty valley several villages surrounded by their orchards and corn-fields.

Land-slips and the fall of fragments of rock had several times occurred in this valley; it could not indeed be otherwise, from the nature of the stone of which the rocks are composed. In the autumn of 1806 several suspicious circumstances had been observed; shepherds and herdsmen coming down from the top of the mountain brought news of strange clefts and chasms which they had perceived, and warned the people of impending danger; but apparently the misfortune was too great for their conception; they remained where they were, little dreaming of what was about to take place. On the 2nd of September, during a storm, about five o'clock in the evening, a mass of the Ross mountain, four miles long, about a hundred feet high, and a thousand feet thick, loosed itself and fell over on the unfortunate villages. The rock was mingled with a large quantity of mud and water—no escape was possible, and in a few minutes all life and struggle was over, and when the echo of the thunder had ceased and the thick clouds of dust had rolled away, the people of the neighbouring hamlets, hastening towards the spot, found nothing but a vast silent grave.

The enormous blocks of stone that mark the spot lie piled high up on the Rigi side, and heaps of ruins and rubbish fill up the valley even as far as the Lowerz lake, which was on that occasion driven far over its banks, and contributed its quota to the desolation. I was told that among the sufferers by this calamity was an English family of travellers who had just come from Arth to visit Goldau. One of the gentlemen had remained with the guide a little in the rear of the party; suddenly they heard a dreadful crash, and a violent concussion of the atmosphere threw them both to the ground: as the Englishman sprung up again, his companion, his wife, and his children had vanished for ever from his sight, and he, saved by some singular accident, was left alone.

The Rigi has been described over and over again: it can be ascended in three or four hours, and a visitor should by no means return without reaching the top, for thence he obtains a wonderfully beautiful view, over seventeen lakes, and the romantic highlands from Basle and Berne to the Jura and the Valais.

But before all things fine weather is neces-

sary, with a sky free from mist or fog; if he cannot immediately obtain this, a traveller would do well to wait a little rather than lose such an opportunity. There is a good hotel too on the Rigi, where people may dine and sup as well as at Zurich or Berne, and without paying higher prices.

Besides this, one has usually the advantage of meeting here a rather numerous company, members of all nations, who are stopping to watch for a fine sunrise; and they are quite right to do so, for there is not a point in all Switzerland which leaves so deep and ineffaceable an impression as the boundless panorama that is visible from the summit of the Rigi. On the Faulhorn, or the Sidelhorn, in the Berne Oberland, you stand immediately before the giants, and see their glaciers and icy crowns sparkle and glow with radiant colours, and pierce into the blue depths of their ravines with mingled shuddering and delight; but on the Rigi a vast semicircle of the world of mountains is laid open to your gaze, and amidst the throng of gigantic peaks, veiled in snow, the lovely emerald pastures, the azure lakes, the villages and towns near or afar off,

the whole scene of life and nature, in enchanting freshness and endless variety.

On the evening when I arrived at the foot of the Rigi the mountain was veiled in thick clouds, but in the morning these had rolled away, the alpine horn awakened the sleepers, and in spite of the biting cold we all soon stood on the summit, watching till the sun had kindled the whole circle with his glowing beams. Thence I descended the mountain, in company with two friends, to Waggis, on the side next the lake of the forest cantons, which is the shortest way to Lucerne, and presents many magnificent points on the descent, until you reach the lake itself, the most beautiful, or at all events the wildest and most romantic, of all the lakes of Switzerland. The Rigi is almost encircled by that and the lakes of Zug and Lowerz, and it seems probable that these three have at some former time formed only one lake, from the bosom of which the mighty mass has arisen like an island.

Looking down from the Rigi, a deep bay of the larger lake presses forward as far as Küssnacht, and from there to the lake of Zug is scarcely three miles. On the road thither are

seen the ruins of a castle, which has been christened the castle of Gessler; and here is also Tell's chapel, on the spot where, according to tradition, the governor was shot. The hollow way is said to be the road, which runs between two rocky hills; and all these matters of course are most firmly fixed in the faith of the people.

Waggis is a village belonging to Lucerne, and which lies in so mild and sheltered a spot that not only chestnuts, but figs and almonds, flourish around it. From here a steamer runs to Lucerne, a distance which is done in an hour.

The city, concerning which at the time of my visit so much had been said, lies at the extreme west end of the lake, and in a situation which for natural beauty can scarcely be surpassed. The dark grandeur of Mount Pilate on one side, the Rigi in front, and the lake with its rocks and mountains, and spots of sylvan beauty scattered along its shores—all this splendour of external nature contrasted painfully in my mind with the narrow and gloomy fanaticism of priests and their tools, by which it had so lately distinguished itself.

CHAPTER XV.

The City of Lucerne—Changes of Government—Power of the Priesthood—Demands of Rome—The Liberal Party—Leu of Ebersohl—Ignorance of the People—Altered state of Lucerne—Dr. Steiger's Escape—Free Corps—Failure of the Expedition—

LUCERNE is a very ancient city, surrounded with many towers, which add to its picturesque beauty. It has been said to have its name from a tower in the lake on which a light was kept burning, a lighthouse having been erected in the early Roman time. Dr. Casimir Pfyffer, a man equally distinguished for learning and freedom of mind, who has become for this reason an object of persecution to the ruling party, states that a Benedictine convent was first established here in the year 695, and that the town grew up round it. In the course of time the citizens gained for themselves many rights and privileges, chose their own magistrates, and in 1291 acknowledged

allegiance to Austria, but in 1332 broke off from it and joined the league of the forest towns, fighting with them at the battle of Sempach.

Lucerne, in the first instance, established for itself a democratic constitution, which bestowed equal rights on all citizens, but in the fifteenth century the patrician families contrived to absorb all power and privilege for themselves. The country sunk into servitude, none but those born in the town could sit in the councils, and at length such a complete governing caste was formed, that in 1773 an ordinance was issued that certain offices should remain in certain families for ever, and only in case of their becoming extinct should others be chosen to fill them.

The patricians chose only members of their own families for the great and small councils, and they filled also the offices of judges and all others of importance. This state of things lasted till 1797, when the Helvetic Constitution took the place of this old aristocratic form of government. Now the talk was of freedom and the rights of man, of liberty of conscience, liberty of the press, equalization

of all burdens of the State, &c. and a new life began in Lucerne. Then came the Mediation Act of Napoleon, which, instead of the legislative and executive authorities then established, brought back the two councils, and even confirmed some of the appointments for life. But at length the Restoration epoch of 1815 overthrew all this, and restored the old patrician rule again, and the oppressive preponderance of the city over the country. The year 1831 brought to Lucerne, as well as the rest of Switzerland, great changes, and once more a constitution with liberal principles was set up. It proclaimed the sovereignty of the people, the establishment of the Catholic religion, equality of political rights, freedom of the press, inviolable security of person and property, protection of official persons from arbitrary dismissal, the abolition of titles, orders, and pensions, and a due provision for the education of the people. The separation of the administrative from the judicial powers was also effected, and the independence of the latter secured.

Thus far all was well; this was the best and the freest constitution that Lucerne had

ever enjoyed: but it is to little purpose that a free constitution is written upon parchment, if there be nothing in the spirit of the people to give it life.

The inhabitants of the canton of Lucerne stood on far too low a grade of knowledge and culture to make a good use of this freedom, and the constitution became a two-edged sword in the hands of the priests and aristocrats, by whose intrigues the minds of country people were filled with hatred against the privileges of the town, and the "infidel Radicals," who, they were taught, were endeavouring to destroy the Church; and in 1841, a rude peasant democracy overturned, by a decisive majority, this last liberal constitution, and threw the people and the government once more into the hands of the priests and their allies.

All barriers by which the power of the Church had been restrained were now broken, the convents secured in their privileges, a free intercourse opened with Rome, and the education of the people placed wholly in the hands of the priests. In the Council of Education there sit indeed four churchmen and

five laymen; but the five laymen are named by the clergy; and the preponderance of the clerical power is also secured by the imposition of an oath on every member elected to the Great Council, to reverence and protect the rights of the Catholic Church.

What is understood by this is well known; namely, nothing less than the most unconditional obedience, the most complete slavery of conscience, the entire subjection of the reason to the doctrines and commands of the only true Church and her ministers..

In consequence of this last change in Lucerne, every hope of progress has been crushed; every free man, every free word, has become an object of suspicion and persecution: for even the article of the constitution, in which it is stated that "free expression of opinion in speech and in writing, *within the limits of truth, morality, and religion,* is secured," is evidently composed in a Jesuitical spirit which will leave the door open to all kinds of persecution.

One of the recent changes has taken from the city of Lucerne, the focus of whatever cultivation exists in the canton, and the residence

of men of the most free and intelligent minds, its five-and-twenty deputies, which it formerly sent to the Great Council, and left it only five, the proportion according to the exact measure of its population: the constitution was also sent to Rome for the approval of the Pope (the predecessor of his present holiness); but it appeared by the answer, that the influence obtained by the Church was still not enough for the insatiable ambition of Rome. The small share of authority left to laymen over ecclesiastical property, the trifling contributions for educational purposes required from the convents, and the omission of a proposed clause securing the immunity of the clergy from taxation, awakened the displeasure of the successor of St. Peter.

On the other hand the opposite party was of course dissatisfied, and with far better reason. They saw the work of much toil and many years overthrown: the rude peasantry, and the almost equally rude and ignorant aristocratic party, wholly under the control of the priesthood, had reaped all the benefit of the change. More than three-fourths of the Great Council consisted of peasants in smock frocks, brought

in wholly by the influence of the Ultramontanes, and prepared to do their behests. The enlightened, well-informed men of the liberal party remained, for the most part, excluded. Gradually, also, the Common Council, and the offices of judges and magistrates, have been filled by the adherents of the new order of things; and it is therefore a matter of course that oppression and persecution have increased from day to day; many citizens have emigrated in consequence; others have lost all heart, and submitted to what seemed inevitable; few, indeed, have had courage to continue a struggle to all appearance fruitless.

The liberal party, when in power, did much for the country. They made roads, improved schools, and greatly favoured the developements of trade and industry; but the priests raised the cry, "Religion is in danger!" and the cry was immediately echoed by the country people, who are not less ignorant than the shepherds of Uri and Unterwalden. At their head stood the richest peasant in the country, Joseph Leu, of Ebersohl; a man far from deficient in natural capacity, but full of glowing hatred against all enlightenment; a true

farmer, despising all refinement, and, though full of pride, the lowliest slave and most fanatical tool of the priesthood.

This man was a dealer in cattle, and possessed property to the amount of above eight thousand pounds; and it was chiefly through his instrumentality that the Jesuits were brought to Lucerne, Schwyz, and Freiburg. He and his friends exerted themselves to form Catholic associations; and by his rude eloquence he obtained such influence over the country people that he became a sort of peasant king in the canton of Lucerne: but it would nevertheless have been difficult, if not impossible, for the revolution to have been carried through, without assistance from the society of Jesuits. The Abbot of Einsiedeln also, and indeed the monks in all the convents, used every exertion for the same purpose; established "Borromeo associations," "Brotherhoods of St. Mary," &c. and set on foot an active trade in consecrated hearts and images, for which the poorest peasant and day-labourer was willing to contribute his mite. At length, in 1840, Leu, of Ebersohl, was able to present a petition, signed by

11,793 citizens of the canton, and this decided the fate of the government. The city of Lucerne boasts many men of ability, and is usually judicious enough to elect these to the Great Council; but, if the liberal opposition does not consist of more than ten members against ninety, it can of course do nothing.

I spoke in Lucerne with one of this minority, a man deservedly much respected, and expressed a hope that time might produce some change for the better. "When that rock," said he with a bitter smile, pointing to Mount Pilate, "shall become as soft as wax, then we may have some hope that the people of Lucerne may come to their senses. You have no idea of the dense ignorance and mental blindness of the masses here. You should see the people of Entlibach, and some of these remote districts, how they grovel in the dust before their priests, and believe in ghosts and witches, and enchantments, and all sorts of infernal nonsense; and they obey the monks as a dog does his master; but only for fear hell fire should be the reward of disobedience.

"And where should improvement come

from? Our schools are in the hands of the clergy, the press lies in fetters heavier than those imposed on it in Austria, our councillors and judges are the mere creatures of the men who have done all the mischief. Lucerne was once the cheerfulest and happiest place in Switzerland; all strangers were delighted with it—nowhere else was there so much sociality and pleasure—so many balls and concerts and popular amusements; and we could boast too of many men and women of the highest cultivation. But now all that is gone. The town looks as if it were dead. Distrust sits on all faces—fear closes all lips; the coffee-houses are empty; in the interior of families discord reigns, relations and friends are separated, of pleasure or enjoyment there is no longer a thought. We scarcely venture to speak except in the most confidential circles, where we give vent to our feelings a little in cursing the hypocrites and fanatics—otherwise all is as still as death. Our once merry Lucerne seems changed into the very abode of silence and desolation."

In wandering about the town I was shown the tower into which Dr. Steiger was thrown

in chains, and the hole, then just walled up again, out of which he fortunately made his escape. A certain mystery hangs over this escape that has not been satisfactorily cleared up. The master of the little hotel of the Red Tower, who assisted him and drove him away with extra post-horses, informed me, he had been three times in waiting, with all preparation made, before he succeeded; the affair was known to many, and for any one merely to keep silence in such a case was of course to involve himself in considerable danger, yet silence was kept, and he escaped.

Dr. Steiger, though an object of hatred to the priests, is very generally esteemed, both as a physician and as an upright, honourable man. On the overthrow of the Liberal Constitution he edited the "Confederate," the organ of the Liberal party, and opposed the "Lucerne Journal" and "Swiss League Journal," edited by Constantine Siegwart Müller; afterwards, as Schultheiss, at the head of affairs in Lucerne, a German by birth, and at first a vehement advocate of freedom. Müller wrote several pamphlets directed against priests and aristocrats, and even a political catechism

for the people to instruct them in their rights, but subsequently apostatized, and, like a true renegade, was ready to persecute with equal vehemence all that he had hitherto defended.

Dr. Steiger and his friends were involved in law suits, fines, and imprisonments, and persecuted till all Switzerland sympathised in their fate. The press in the Liberal cantons espoused their cause, murmurs became loud against those who were banishing and ill-treating citizens of the highest character, robbing them of their property, and trampling every right under their feet. The fugitives from Lucerne began to draw together, troops of Swiss of other cantons who sympathised in their cause, from Aargau, Berne, Basle-country, and Soleure, associated themselves with them, and a project was formed for an attempt to restore freedom to their country. The preparations went on unquestionably under the eye of the governments; and after an unimportant attempt in December, 1844, the well-known expedition of the Free Corps took place on the 1st of April, 1845.

The government of Lucerne had been warned of their approach, and was greatly

alarmed, but confided the town to an officer of limited capacity, a general Von Annenberg, who formed a very bad plan of defence. The Free Corps were full of spirits, and possessed in the Berne advocate, Ochsenbein, also captain of artillery, a spirited leader. In spite of all obstacles and unfavourable accidents, and after skirmishing the whole day with parties of the militia and the peasants, who fired upon them as they passed, the columns arrived towards evening at Lucerne, and took up their position on a hill close to the town. My guide pointed out the spot, and added, with an emphatic oath, "If they had but come down, we in Lucerne were all standing ready to join them; but there they lay all night by their watch-fires, and by the morning dawn the *Landsturm* was out, and the Zug batallion was up, and it was too late. God knows what they could have meant by lying there as still as old Mount Pilate himself—I can't make it out."

What the worthy man could not make out was afterwards explained to me by Colonel Ochsenbein himself. The Free Corps had arrived at Lucerne late in the evening,

hungry, wet, and weary; but many of the leaders nevertheless were for making the attack immediately; this Dr. Steiger opposed. He urged that if the town were cannonaded friends as well as foes must inevitably suffer; that a great number of the citizens were friendly to the cause, and that he had a solemn promise that a movement in their favour would be made in the night. He declared that the Free Corps might march into Lucerne in the morning without shedding a drop of blood.

As he was one of the most important among the fugitives of Lucerne, it was thought necessary to yield to his representations; otherwise the city might have been taken that evening, the Jesuits would have been driven out, and the Free Corps would have reaped as much glory as they afterwards did opprobrium.

The night passed away, but there was no insurrection in Lucerne; probably because no one was willing to begin, but every one waited for the other. By the morning the Free Corps were surprised by the arrival of the battalion from Zug, although an arrangement had previously been made that it was to be stopped by a body of eight hundred Zurichers.

The *landsturm*, the militia of Lucerne, and the force from Zug, now fell all at once upon the Free Corps, wearied as they were; and what the result was is well known.

The church was shown to me in which some hundreds of them were shut up for several weeks together, and nearly starved. Many were left for months in the worst prisons of the house of correction before they were ransomed; others were thrown into dungeons in the towers, and even loaded with irons. Two unlucky Germans who had been among them were carried in chains to Sardinia, afterwards sent to Austria, and finally to America. The Swiss prisoners who were citizens of other cantons were claimed by their governments and protected, but no one troubled themselves about these two; and their fate may be a warning to those Germans who feel inclined to meddle in the civil broils of Switzerland. In that country the citizen passes for something, but the man for nothing; and the German, if possible, for less.

Had Frenchmen or Englishmen been among the prisoners at Lucerne, their governments would have interfered in their behalf.

CHAPTER XV.

Depth of the Swiss Lakes—The Lake of the Four Cantons—Defensive Warfare—Unterwalden—Antiquated Forms of Society—Stationary Condition—Reigning Families—Rights of Citizenship—The Homeless—Seclusion of the old Cantons—Ancient Valour—Criminal Law—Financial Department.

I LEFT Lucerne in a steamer for Brunen, the landing-place nearest to Schwyz, which lies about four miles from it. If any one of the Swiss lakes can be compared to the Fiords of Norway it is this, with its rocky shores, its deep bays, wild romantic scenery, and steep crags crowned with pines.

These steam-boats, which now rush rapidly through the foaming depths of the Swiss lakes, are a great improvement on the old mode of navigating them by sail or oar. The art of navigation seems, indeed, still in its childhood in Switzerland. The boats are coarse and clumsy in their construction; keeled boats there are none; the oars are crossed and

used standing, the rower pressing against them with arms and breast; a mode that must be excessively fatiguing.

Some of the larger vessels carry a square sail; but this requires great caution and skill upon these mountain-lakes, for sudden gusts of wind often rush through the ravines, that lash up their waters into wild tumult, and make it necessary to seek for immediate shelter. These lakes are extremely deep; the two largest, the Lake of Zurich, four hundred feet, that of Geneva a thousand feet, that of Constance, at the part near Lindau, more than two thousand. They all lie at a considerable height above the level of the North Sea: some of the lakes in Berne Oberland are not less than eighteen hundred feet; this of the Four Cantons somewhat more than thirteen hundred feet. It is about nine hundred feet deep, and in breadth very unequal, on the average, not much more than from one to two miles. It lies hemmed in by enormous rocks, and the farther the steamer gets from Lucerne the wilder and more magnificent they become.

On the shores of this beautiful lake, the

formation of freestone and *nagelflue* are succeeded by the chalk, which lies piled upon its southern shore in vast masses.

Geographically and historically, this lake may be considered to form the centre of Switzerland, and round its bason lie the four states which formed the original Confederacy. The western extremity belongs to Lucerne; looking to the right, the towers of Stanz, the chief town of Unterwalden, rise on the view; following the windings of the lake to the south, Uri lies spread out before you, and the left bank, with Kussnacht and the Rigi, form a part of Schwyz, whose villages seem to hang most beautifully on the mountain-sides.

No other lake presents such a magnificent variety of light and shade—snowy peaks and silvery glaciers—deep emerald-green ravines and valleys, dark wood, and naked rock, and lovely fertile spots of cultivation—sunny, glancing, warm, and rich.

But that is the peculiar charm of Switzerland;—the blooming fruit-trees hang almost over snow and ice; fat cattle graze up to the very edge of the glaciers; and in the midst of the desolate sublimity of dark gigantic

mountains smile the softest verdant meadows and pastures.

The pastoral states of Switzerland, when at a distance we hear of their dimensions, seem of such tiny proportions, that we can hardly imagine how they could ever have offered the resistance they did to the power of Austria; but when we see the difficult passes, the deep, narrow valleys, above which tower the smooth perpendicular walls of rock, their obstinate struggles, both in early and recent times, become more intelligible.

A few hundred riflemen could, in many spots, obviously keep their ground against as many thousands; concealed behind points of rock, they could load and reload, and take aim at their leisure.

In the attack on Stanz, for instance, in 1798, an old man and his two sons-in-law, assisted by their wives and children, who loaded their muskets for them, shot hundreds of the French before the fierce foe could find their way up the rocks. Then indeed their bayonets and sabres sent the whole family to rest. The best European army could do little among these mountains; their artillery and their

cavalry would not be of much service, and offensive wars will never be undertaken by the Swiss.

Of the four forest cantons, Uri and Unterwalden form the mighty rocky fortress, of which Lucerne and Schwyz occupy only the outworks. These therefore are most exposed to the inroads of the advancing tide of modern culture which threatens them from their great Protestant neighbours.

Unterwalden, small as it is, is again subdivided into two half-cantons, each of which has its general assembly, its cantonal council, and its separate magistracy. Nature has made it, like Uri and Schwyz, a land of herdsmen and dairy-farmers. Cheese and butter are made in these rural states in considerable quantities, and cattle and timber are also sources of profit. The rushing mountain-streams set in motion more than forty saw-mills; and rope-walks, paper-mills, and even a cotton factory have lately been established. These industrial institutions are indeed only on a small scale, and for the most part the capital for them has been furnished by the monks of Engelberg, who also obtain the

profit. The inhabitants of Unterwalden, being mostly herdsmen and agriculturists, live in small villages and scattered farms; there is nothing that can properly be called a town in the whole canton: the monks, as I have said, not only have the charge of their souls, but also of whatever trade is going on, and they take good care that nobody shall interfere with them. Their influence is indeed sufficient to prevent any attempt at rivalry; with the small number of comparatively wealthy families they are on the best possible terms, and the mass of the people is so dependent, so humble, so devout, that the priest and the abbot may say whatever they please, and be always sure of having their words listened to as the commands of God.

The canton separated into Upper and Lower Unterwalden so early as 1366, and since that time their condition has remained very much the same. What was effected by the Helvetic Republic in 1798 was annihilated on its overthrow; the old state of affairs was restored in all its purity; the suffrage was taken from those who had only recently obtained it, and again confined to the ancient families who

had been settled in the country in the earliest times, and had a right to a share in the *all-mends*, or communal property. It may be imagined how difficult it is to obtain the full rights of citizenship in these pastoral cantons, since there is no example of any one's having done so in Lower Unterwalden since 1664. It was in 1815 presented to a few men of distinction, the Schultheiss of Berne, the Landamman Arnold of Uri, and a few others.

It would not answer much purpose to go far into the detail of these old worm-eaten, middle-age political fabrics, but they are not wholly without interest. It is most curious to find here, among these mountain fastnesses, subsisting through hundreds of years, a primitive form of society that so exactly resembles that of the most ancient peasant-communities of the ninth and tenth centuries in Germany, of which, in the whole world beside, scarcely a trace remains. The principle upon which the whole rests is, that no one has any rights as a citizen who is not one of the owners of the lands, pastures, woods, and other property of the commune. Whoever has not the right to drive his cows and his goats upon the com

mon Alps can be chosen for no office, and has no claim to the franchise, precisely as it is laid down in the old Saxonlage, or *Sachsenspiegel.* The laws and constitutions of these miniature republics have been handed down traditionally from generation to generation, often without having ever been committed to paper, much less to print. In Unterwalden there is absolutely no printed document of this kind. The Land-Book is merely in MS. and there are but a few copies; but the Unterwaldeners trouble themselves very little about such matters, for every one knows what his own rights are, and, as to improvements and reforms, no one dreams of such a thing.

For these alpine cantons time seems indeed to stand still; the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seem still to hang over these "rocks which look eternal," and to bring forth the men as unchanged as the grass beneath their feet. The men of Unterwalden and Uri spend the summer on the High Alps with their cattle, as their forefathers did; of schools and learning they know, and wish to know, nothing. They have faith in their priests and in the members of their Land Council, and their

Common Council, and their Weekly Council, and their Extra Council, to whom they willingly leave the management of their affairs, and have no longings after offices and dignities from which they are excluded, especially as these are very ill paid and sometimes not paid at all.

Here indeed is a great cause why the *caste* of reigning families has become so firmly established. Only people of some property can take these offices; and since they are often bestowed for life by the General Assemblies, and sometimes even transmitted from father to son, or kept moving in a circle of families closely connected by relationship of blood and marriage, these families soon become woven into an indissoluble bond for mutual support, in which all change of existing customs and institutions becomes almost impossible.

The whole soil of Unterwalden is a sort of family property of the various communes, who are always jealously on the watch that the number of those privileged to share in it does not increase. It is therefore easy to understand why for hundreds of years no naturalization has taken place.

Those citizens who, besides their share of the communal property, possess alps and woods of their own, are the wealthy and distinguished, the capitalists whose hands have held time out of mind the reins of government. In this country property cannot of course be easily dissipated; it is much oftener increased. The lonely and simple way of life, manners, and education, as well as the tendency to economy, that seems natural to the Swiss; the custom of bestowing but small dowers on the daughters, and retaining the family estate for the youngest son, all contribute to this effect.

Of the communal rights none can be alienated. Every citizen of Unterwalden, man or woman, must have attained the age of twenty-five years, and have fire and light of their own, before they can enter on the enjoyment of their privileges. The girls and young men therefore very commonly keep their own little *ménage*, even though they have to go to their daily work at other people's houses; and if they have remained the whole week away from their home, they come back on Saturday evening to make fire and light in their habita-

tions. The girls are employed in spinning, washing, sewing, &c. but many who have remained unmarried, the "bower maidens," as old maids are called here, lead a very easy comfortable life.

Old and simple as are all the institutions of these mountain-communities, and so far pleasing to the imagination, it cannot be denied that they are incompatible with the ideas and claims of modern times. In every village, as for instance in the principal one of Stanz, there are four or five different classes of inhabitants. The first are the old villagers *(dorfleute)*, whose ancestors came into the country before the year 1641; then come the *beysässen*, or settlers, the families of less ancient date, who have no share in the economical rights, but enjoy the political equally with the older, and elect along with them magistrates and members of councils, and are themselves eligible. Families who cannot date farther back than 1756 have no part in the election of an officer of greater importance than a watchman. The Swiss from other cantons who have come to settle in Unterwalden at different periods, especially during the operation of Napoleon's

Mediation Act, are called "strangers," and must be provided with a certificate from the place of their birth; but, if they should remain for a hundred years here, they cannot, according to the present system, obtain the full rights of citizenship. Even they, however, are better off than those who are said to be "tolerated," and who are not Swiss by birth, for they or their children can at any moment be banished the country, at the pleasure merely of the Government, without any reason being assigned. Their operations in trade and industry are restrained within very narrow limits; they live indeed almost like the birds in the air, and no lapse of time can improve their position. The number of these unhappy people, "the homeless," as they are called, is in these old cantons by no means inconsiderable, as compared with the population, and they may be, and often have been, hunted from canton to canton during the whole course of their lives; they are really Pariahs, who hold their existence merely by favour, and whose only chance of peace is to make no enemies.

Thus petrified, and hedged in by impassable

barriers, is society in the old cantons; all depends upon birth, all is caste and corporation. In this respect the great representative cantons have much the advantage; there at least, let a man be from what race he may, he can purchase his admission into the commune; and the remainder of the rights of citizenship will not be refused him. But Zurich and Berne are not, like these forest-cantons, shut in from all the rest of the world. The spirit of modern times can breathe more freely over them, and it has at last animated those hitherto excluded from political rights to demand and obtain a share in them.

In Unterwalden it is not easy for liberal ideas to find their way into the heads of the people; it has few schools, and many monks and nuns, and the present possessors of authority have the best reasons for wishing things to remain as they are.

The constitution of these little states is also in perfect harmony with the prevailing manners and customs; indeed the constitution itself is but an accumulation of old customs and habits, that have been stored up one after another for five hundred years, with so little

alteration, that if William Tell, or Arnold of Winkelried, were to arise out of their graves to-morrow they would find themselves quite at home.

All the inhabitants of Unterwalden belong to the Roman Catholic religion, and the only public worship that takes place in the country is of that church. The Unterwaldeners have indeed always distinguished themselves, even above the men of Uri and Schwyz, for their zeal as champions of their faith; in the religious wars of Switzerland they were always foremost, and have never lost their reputation as the stoutest and most valiant of the Confederates. In the old times of their first struggles for freedom they attacked and took more than forty feudal castles that had been erected in their land, and drove out the tyrannical nobles who had inhabited them.

After covering themselves with glory by victories gained in their own cause, their youth fought for centuries in almost every battle that took place in Italy, France, and Germany; and what a stout resistance they made to the French in 1798 I have already mentioned. They are by no means a dull, but on

the contrary a lively and sharp-witted people, and are not deficient in the spirit of active enterprise, as has been lately proved by their great undertaking, the deepening the bed of the Lungern Lake, for which a company was established, and which has been happily completed; but nothing apparently can induce them to attempt any kind of reform in Church or State. A reformer is indeed a being of a species altogether unknown in Unterwalden.

The sovereign authority is said to reside with the people; but in what sense this term *people* is to be understood I have already explained. Even the right of petitioning is not freely granted to the inhabitants at large, for the collecting signatures is strictly forbidden, and a petition, as in the absolute monarchy of Prussia, can only be presented by an individual. The real sovereign is the Cantonal Council, consisting of fifty-eight members in Niedwald, and sixty-five in Obwald, as well as the magistrates chosen by the General Assembly, the Landamman, Stadtholder, &c. This council unites all the three powers of government—legislative, administrative, and judicial. How it stands with this latter department it

is scarcely necessary to say; an impartial administration of justice is, under the circumstances in which this country is placed, impossible. The criminal law is at least three hundred years behind that of modern civilised countries; even the use of torture is not legally abolished, and, though it is no longer applied, flogging is carried to great excess; thieves and other criminals are sometimes condemned to wear for a certain number of years a ring of iron round the neck, and, a bell being fastened to the head, they are allowed to go free without any further punishment than the mockery of all whom they meet. An accused person is seldom allowed to see the act of indictment, and woe to him if in these family states he should have made any powerful enemies.

The poor are provided for, first by their relations, to the fourth degree; if these fail, by the commune, which also levies the rates for the Church and for schools. The revenues of the little states are furnished by a property-tax, taxes on trade and commerce, the post, stamps, tolls upon roads and cattle, and the monopoly of salt; and according to law—or

rather old custom—the public accounts ought to be laid on a table for fourteen days every year, for public inspection, but now at least this is never done.

It has happened, indeed, more than once, that the Treasurer has roundly declared he would give no account, and this pasha-like behaviour has excited murmurs even in Unterwalden; for what can any one do, when the whole Cantonal Council are but so many pashas, and always inclined to support each other.

Such is what passes by the name of freedom in these democratic cantons.

CHAPTER XVI.

Pastoral Life of the Alps—The Convent of Engelberg—Singular Anomaly—The Canton of Uri—The Mountain Herdsmen—Hunting on the Alps—The Chamois Hunters—The Constitution of Uri—The Road of the St. Gotthard—The Devil's Bridge—The French Invasion—Passage of the Russians.

FROM Stanz, the capital of Niedwald, which lies half buried in a forest of fruit-trees, the road leads through woods to Sarnen, the chief village of Obwald; and all over the canton we find the same bright green valleys and magnificent mountains.

If one has time to turn aside and penetrate into their recesses, one may often discover among their simple inhabitants some who, with all their ignorance and superstition, are yet uncorrupted and good-hearted people.

On the great roads, however, all over these pastoral cantons, mendicancy has set up its ragged throne, and the traveller is pursued by hordes of cripples, cretins, and children, who

fly after him as their appointed prey, and never cease their song till their mouths are stopped with a bribe.

Many of the juvenile beggars have parents who are by no means in want; but all beg without hesitation of a traveller, and their parents rejoice at this early manifestation of a turn for business. Many, however, are really in want; and the numerous holidays of the Catholic Church, by accustoming the people to idleness, contribute much to increase the destitution.

In poetry and description there is doubtless something very charming in the life of the shepherds and shepherdesses of the Alps amidst the romantic scenery of their beautiful country; but one is sadly disenchanted at the aspect of these ragged, dirty swarms of beggars; and not unfrequently on entering the huts of the herdsmen on the alpine pastures one is pained by their want of cleanliness, as well as by the greedy, covetous ways of the dwellers in them, who seem unwilling to perform the smallest service, or give a stranger so much as a glass of milk or a piece of bread, without expecting an exorbitant payment.

High up in the mountains of Unterwalden, in a valley surrounded by wild rocks, lies the rich and ancient Benedictine convent of Engelberg, encircled by the village of the the same name. These Benedictines educate the children of the principal families in Unterwalden, and also carry on a good deal of trade; their abbot has contrived too to maintain his independence of the State, to which he pays a yearly sum, and is subject to no further demand.

Formerly the abbots of Engelberg were sovereign princes within their own domains, and the abbey has often seen princes and emperors within its walls; it has had too its days of mirth and revelry; but these good old times are gone, and now the monks are more modest in their deportment, and seek a different method of securing their influence.

The parish priests have only small salaries, the highest not more than thirty-five pounds a year; but a considerable addition to this is made by the offerings of their penitents, both rich and poor, and they are never without a well-supplied larder and cellar. The richer and more cultivated Benedictines know how

to employ their capital to advantage; through the agency of their commissioners, they deal in cloth and goods of all kinds, they farm alps and pastures, and, as I have said, they also give instruction to the young people of the higher class. It is very remarkable that in Unterwalden the parish priests are elected by the commune; nay, not only elected once, but the priest must present himself before the commune every year, to be confirmed anew in his office. This is indeed little more than an empty form at present, but it serves to express the ancient right of the people; and it is a right which would doubtless be very distasteful to his holiness the Pope, did he not know how well he could trust his faithful Unterwaldeners.

From Engelberg the most magnificent views are obtained into the neighbouring alps, and thence, across the ridge of the Genthal, a wild pass conducts to Berne Oberland; another still wilder leads across the Surenne to Altorf, in the canton of Uri, between the Titlis and the Uri Rothstock, across glittering fields of ice, and by vast peaks of nine or ten thousand feet high, and a crowd of grey and ice-bound

giants, whose heads are lost in the clouds. Far beneath, the traveller looks down on the blue lake, and the village of the Reuss; and nine long Swiss miles bring him to the Land of Tell, who still meets the wanderer on every side in image, and song, and story.

The whole tale of the Marksman of Uri, and his renowned shot at the apple, is painted on the walls of an old tower; a figure of Tell with his bow and arrow has been placed beside the well, which tradition says is the exact spot where the shot was taken; it points also to the place where his house stood. In short, the people will give up Tell on no consideration, and are very indignant if any over-wise traveller hints a doubt of the story.

As for this little canton of Uri, it bears the closest resemblance to Unterwalden in all its arrangements; the physical characteristics of the country are the same,—the same mountain solitudes, and rocks, and torrents, and ravines, and soft valleys, and gushing fountains. But the peach and the melon ripen in its orchards, and a breath of Italy seems to find its way through the passes of the St.

Gotthard, and up the valley of the Reuss; the houses lie scattered up and down on the declivities; but in the summer the inhabitants live mostly on the High Alps with their cattle, and only descend as the winter approaches. We find here the same people as in Unterwalden, the same manners and customs, the same political constitution; only as you approach the St. Gotthard the Italian language begins to spring up by the wayside; and you meet sparkling black eyes, and sharply-cut features, and professors of the art of begging still more skilful and persevering than those of Teutonic race.

The modes of life of these pastoral cantons have been often enough described, and, though most of these descriptions were written long ago, no change whatever appears to have taken place in them.

The herdsmen on the mountains hold their wrestling matches, their foot-races, their games with the sling and the stone, &c., in which the young men of Unterwalden and Appenzell are considered to excel all others. Corporal strength, and perseverance in overcoming difficulties, find many occa-

sions of exercise in the lives of these mountaineers, who are accustomed to carry down from the High Alps the produce of their dairies; they will bear great piles of cheeses and enormous bundles of hay down steep, slippery, giddy paths, and find their way along the edge of precipices through fog, and rain, and storm. The chamois too is still hunted among these rocks, a chase which is well calculated to put strength and agility to a severe trial.

The enormous wild goat, the *steinbock*, is growing scarce, and is seldom seen; only the summer before my visit, a report was raised that one had made its appearance in Uri, and all the huntsmen were on the *qui vive* immediately, and even the papers were full of it. The chamois, notwithstanding the persecutions to which it is exposed, is still frequently seen in these elevated regions of the Alps; but it haunts the loftiest summits in the neighbourhood of the glaciers and the everlasting snow; and it is excessively shy and difficult to reach. No one should attempt it who is not a bold and practised mountaineer and an excellent shot. He must be able to climb the loftiest

crags, and keep his footing on the edge of the giddiest precipices, on ledges scarcely broader than his hand, without a moment's giddiness; he must be able with his leaping-pole to cross slippery fields of ice, and fearful clefts and chasms; he must be able to endure heat and cold, and hunger and thirst, for days and nights together: and after all sometimes return unsuccessful, for the chamois-hunter will often wander for hours among the glaciers without so much as getting a shot.

Many a fine bold fellow perishes in this pursuit, and many an anxious hour does the family often spend when the husband and father is out with his gun after the chamois. There are instances of families in which great-grandfather and grandfather, father and son have all perished in this chase; still each succeeding generation seems to find in it that same strange fascination. They are drawn by an irresistible longing to the same wild and perilous path.

With many of these hunters it cannot be for the sake of the gain, for the chamois' skin is not worth more than seventeen shillings; it appears to be that deep, mysterious instinct

in man to tempt his fortune, to dare what few will dare; it is the excitement and the glory for which they stake their lives, not the mere profit. Some unquestionably seem to pursue this dangerous vocation as a trade; and it is usual for three or four of these hunters to go together, as one alone might easily meet with some accident, which, even if trifling, by disabling him in the icy desert might prove his destruction.

In the eastern cantons, in Appenzell, St. Gall, and Glarus, the chamois is daily growing scarcer, but in Uri and Unterwalden, in Berne Oberland, in the Valais and the Grisons, they are still plentiful enough to make an animated chase. In the autumn, when the animal is black, it is said to be strongest and fattest; in the early spring it is grey, in the summer red; but the people are then too busy with their hay and cattle to go after them. They are, with few exceptions, men of the poorest class who venture their necks for so small a prize; for the rich landowner generally prefers buying the chamois and eating him quietly at home, and lying at night in his warm bed, to rambling about among the "rocks

and caves and icy waves" in pursuit of a goat.

The *gentlemen* of Uri, that is, the descendants of the ancient races, possess, if possible, still more power and greater privileges than those of Unterwalden, and the people are still more dependent on their will. The Cantonal Council consists of forty-four members, *elected for life*, who make laws and administer them according to their pleasure; as for justice, it may be imagined how that business is managed, since it has been decided that if a cause has been heard before the Cantonal Council, and any one believes himself aggrieved by the decision, he cannot bring it before the General Assembly or any other tribunal, but only once more before the same council, who may hear the cause a second time or not, as they please. The decision of any authority indeed is final, and no appeal lies to any other.

Fortunately the people are so quiet, so cut off from the rest of the world, and the state of society so simple, that few causes of any importance have to be tried. Were they inclined to open their eyes and look about them,

even as far as to their neighbours of Schwyz, they would be inclined, one would think, some fine day, to drive their oligarchy out of the country, and resume the sovereignty of which they have been so shamefully defrauded; but how should a people in this condition be able to form, much less execute, such a project, when the oligarchy are closely allied with the priests, whom they follow like so many sheep the bell-wether.

The road over the St. Gotthard, which leads across the canton of Tessin to Milan and Italy, passes through Uri; and much goods, and twenty thousand people, travel this road every year. It is a very fine one, and has been made at great expense by Uri and Tessin: but the tolls upon it are so high that it is now nearly repaid. The most sublime Alpine scenery accompanies the traveller the whole way from the Lake of the Four Cantons. Rocks ten thousand feet high, and dazzling summits crowned with eternal snow, wall it in on either side. The magnificent Uri, Rothstock, the Galenstock, the Windgallen, the Schneehorn, and many others, stand like lines of giants along the road, till they finally lose them-

selves in the mighty wall of the St. Gotthard. The foaming Reuss rushes along the bottom of the valley, at first green and smiling with orchards and human dwellings, but growing ever narrower, and wilder, and more desolate. The road winds now right, now left, across the mountain-stream. We come to places of refuge from falling avalanches cut in the solid rock; then, up it goes again zig-zag through chasms near the ice-line, which in winter are often suddenly filled by falling masses of snow; and which in many states of the weather cannot be passed without danger; and, finally, across the Devil's Bridge, and through the rocky gallery of the *Urnerloch* into the Ursern Valley, which lies there with its still green pastures, like an oasis in the desert.

The Devil's Bridge is a bold work of human hands. The Reuss, here a raging torrent, roars through a mighty arch of freestone, and dashes down in a beautiful fall, flinging its spray far, far above.

The old Devil's Bridge lies with the remains of the old road, much lower than the new one, and close to the boiling stream; and well

may it have appeared to many a wanderer a work of some superhuman power, as he crossed its blackened arch, and felt the cataract thunder beneath him.

The road of the St. Gotthard may be travelled either in a carriage, on horseback, or on foot; and of these three methods the last is the best, the first certainly the worst: for to any one shut up in a coach half the beauties of the road must be lost.

The wildness and nakedness of the rocks, the narrowness of the ravines, the silence and sublime desolation, often reminded me of similar scenes in Norway: but here we find roads, and bridges, and many evidences of human industry; there the wayfarer must seek his road through the pathless wilderness, and along the beds of torrents, and often pass days without coming to a human habitation.

The top of the St. Gotthard,—on the Devil's Bridge, along the valley of the Reuss, and the shores of the Lake of the Four Cantons, formed, in the years 1791 and 1799, the theatre of the struggle that took place between the French, Austrians, and Russians. Suwarrow came, towards the end of September, with

thirty thousand Russians from Italy across the St. Gotthard, driving the French before him. The latter blew up the Devil's Bridge; but Suwarrow had the little wood cut down that grew in the Ursern Valley, and made a new one. The inhabitants still bitterly complain of this; for the trees had afforded them protection from the avalanches, and they would not grow again: but what did Suwarrow care about that? When ropes were wanted to bind the trees together, and could not be had in sufficient quantity, he gave his own scarf for the purpose and made his officers do the same.

Thus the Russians descended into the valley of the Reuss, took Altorf, and drove out the French. But in this valley the Russians were shut up, and only a bold stroke could extricate them. Suwarrow's whole army, therefore, crossed, man by man, the Kinzig-Kulm, by a steep shepherd's path, and reached safely the Muetta Valley in Schwyz. Here he fought and defeated the French, who had come in pursuit of him; then climbed the Pragel, got into the Klon Valley, which opens into Glarus, and thus reached the frontiers of

Switzerland, where he formed a junction with the beaten forces of Prince Korsakoff.

It seems almost incredible, on looking at these paths, that a whole army, with cavalry and artillery, could have traversed them; and yet it is true. The cannon were taken to pieces and carried by men; the horses were held by the tails and supported. Many things indeed were lost by the way, many a horse and piece of baggage, and five hundred Russians fell over into the abysses; but Suwarrow marched on and let them lie.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Canton of Schwyz—The Landsgemeinde—Judicial Authorities—Claw-men and Horn-men—Taxes—The Village of Schwyz—Great Families—The Jesuits—The Old Cantons—Religious Houses—The Abbey of Einsiedeln.

AROUND the path which the Russian forced for himself across the Kinzig-Kulm, lie the Alpine pastures of the Uri people, whose system, with respect to them, differs in this, that the lands are not parcelled out to the various communes, but belong to the whole people together; a difference which brings their condition still closer to that of the most primitive nations, amongst whom the flocks and herds grazed on the lands common to the tribe.

In Uri a certain number of families of more recent settlement have been admitted to share in the privileges of the *allmend* with those of more ancient date, in consideration of the assistance rendered against the French in

1798. The promise was made to them on that occasion ; and it has been kept. They are not, however, eligible to any of the offices of government.

Among the various customs existing in these cantons which seem designed to separate them as much as possible from all the rest of the world, is that, in Uri, a citizen is not allowed to marry a stranger without paying to his village a fine of three hundred gulden ; and a citizeness marrying a stranger loses her rights in the common property.

The traveller who crosses the Kinzig-Kulm usually enters the steamer which goes up the lake from Fluelen, and passes Tell's Chapel, and the Grutli, the field where the first three confederates, Walter Furst of Uri, Arnold von Melchthal of Unterwalden, and Werner Stauffacher of Schwyz, met one night in the year 1307, and formed the first league for freedom. Here is the canton of Schwyz, which has given its name to the whole country.* It is the third of the original cantons, and the oftenest named of the three, since it is the

* Our readers will recollect that, in German, Switzerland is called *Schweiz*.

largest and the most influential, its policy having always had a great share in determining the course of events in Switzerland.

This has been the case from the earliest times; one cannot take up a history of that country without seeing the names of their shepherd chiefs, the Abybergs and Redings, and of the exploits they have performed. One hears much more of this aristocracy, than of the ruling families and landammans of the other side of the Lake.

Schwyz has always been regarded as the bulwark of pure democracy, but has borne with the most fanatical zeal the banner of the Catholic Church.

For centuries the monks and priests have had here their favourite abode, and attempts repeatedly made to introduce the Jesuits were at length, in 1831, successful. The papal nuncio in that year took up his abode in the village of Schwyz, and has since made it the centre of the intrigues of the Catholic party. The canton of Schwyz has 40,000 inhabitants, therefore 5000 more than Uri and Unterwalden put together; and it has also a much more advanced political constitution, for which it is

indebted to the struggle that took place in 1833. By this new constitution an attempt has been made to combine the old democracy with a new organisation more in accordance with modern political ideas, and thus form, if possible, a transition to a complete representative system. The sphere of action of the various departments of the Government was then more exactly determined; the administrative separated from the judicial functions; and the life-long duration of offices abolished. The assemblage of the whole body of citizens in the *Landsgemeinde*, or general assemblies, was however retained; but they were to meet only every two years, instead of annually,—a proof of the intention to place them a little in the backgronnd, although this is really contrary to the spirit of a democracy, in which every thing should be brought before the people and decided by them.

Above this general assembly, whose business is only to elect officers of government, to decide concerning war and peace, to bestow the rights of citizenship, &c. stands the Great Council of 108 members, chosen for six years at a time, and which meets every two years.

This council is the legislative power; the highest executive authority is the Cantonal Council, consisting of thirty-six members, which assembles four times a year, and as much oftener as the Landamman or the Executive Council may require it. This Government Council, consisting of five members — that is, the Landamman, and four others chosen by the Great Council—is charged with the execution of the laws.

The highest court of justice is the Cantonal Court, consisting of fourteen members, elected by the seven districts into which the canton is divided. There are also several others for subordinate affairs, and the communes have within themselves arrangements of a similar character. It will be evident that this new constitution has made some approach to the demands of the time, and would be good if farther developed. This is however not likely to be the case in Schwyz, and perhaps the nature of the country, as well as the character of its inhabitants, may have some share in preventing it.

Schwyz, like Uri and Unterwalden, is a pastoral country, limited to certain conditions

of life. The alps, and woods, and moors, &c. belong, with the exception above stated, exclusively to the ancient races, who have been settled in the country for many centuries; and these form a close corporation, into which no stranger can penetrate. The Companions, as they are called *(Genossen)*, who share in these privileges, administer their property by means of officers of their own appointment, and have also their own courts, and form therefore a sort of *imperium in imperio.*

Every citizen can drive as many cattle as he pleases upon the general pastures, and the rich therefore, the Abybergs, the Redings, and the Webers, who have vast herds, make much more profit of them than the poor, who are making complaints on this ground, and have formed the party of the *claw-men*, as they have been called, a designation which has since acquired a political significance. The rich, or the *horn-men*, who resist every innovation, would of course hear nothing of any change in the system, and, when other arguments were scarce, one day fell to convincing their opponents with good stout cudgels, and drove the *claw-men* home from the General

Assembly black and blue, *softened*, if not convinced.

Since 1838, however, the parties have come to an understanding, and the rich have agreed to pay a certain trifling amount for every ten cows they send on the pastures, an arrangement by which nevertheless they have still greatly the advantage.

The strangers and the "homeless" in Schwyz are just in the same unfortunate position as in the other cantons, and the persecution to which they are subjected has sometimes given rise to revolting scenes.

There is little trade or manufacturing industry in this canton, and the whole revenue of the State does not amount to more than about 3000 gulden (2,500*l.*), raised by means of a property-tax, a capitation-tax of two batz per head, and indirect taxes on salt, wine, and colonial produce, and tolls on roads. The Landamman of Schwyz only receives 400 gulden (33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), and some other of the high officers of Government draw splendid salaries of not less than 10*l.* a-year! As I have already said, however, there are many ways in these snug little family states of making them profitable to a far greater amount.

Several men were indeed pointed out to me in Schwyz, who were said to have been in narrow circumstances when they first took office, and who have been opulent ever since.

On landing at Brunnen from the Lake, the whole lovely Schwyzer-land lies in an amphitheatre before the traveller. Beautifully cultivated and fertile, it extends round the Rigi to Arth, and beyond the fine rocky pyramids of the Mythen and the Haken to the Lake of Zurich. It is full of mountains, of seven thousand feet high, of little sheltered valleys and fine pastures; indeed a great portion of the canton is like one meadow, in which Nature has determined that cattle and dairy-farming shall form the principal occupation of the inhabitants. To the right, through a romantic gorge, lies the way to the great Muetta Valley, twenty miles long, which leads to Glarus. In this valley are situated the abodes of many of the rich *full-blooded* people of the old families.

The village of Schwyz lies on the declivity of a mountain, surrounded by gardens full of fruit and walnut trees. It is green and sunny on these hills, and the view to the Lake, the

Rigi, the Valley of Arth, the rocks, the pastures, the villages, and the picturesque scattered cottages, is most exquisite. In the village of Schwyz itself, there is nothing much worth seeing; it contains merely what is necessary to its miniature political life. At the Council House, by the portraits of the Landammans (no great works of art by-the-bye), one can see that the greater part of these magistrates have for many centuries been chosen from the same families.

These, and a dozen others which have provided the State with colonels and majors, and deputies to the Diet, dwell in comparatively stately-looking mansions, enclosed in gardens with yew hedges and iron-gates, which have a much grander air than the houses of the ordinary citizens.

There is also a large edifice erected by the Jesuits, with the assistance of the abbots of Einsiedeln, and some of the chiefs abovementioned, for an educational institution. It has some hundreds of scholars, but the number is said to have decreased of late. The Scwhyzers, pious as they are, appear hitherto to have entertained rather an adverse

feeling towards the order, partly perhaps because the rich monks in the convents around hated the Jesuits, and feared, not without reason, that their revenues would suffer from the admission of these learned and artful champions of Rome.

In the year 1758, the General Assembly rejected a proposal made even by a Reding to introduce the order, although he offered to endow them with a large estate, and a sum of eighty thousand gulden. At that time it was forbidden, under severe penalties, so much as to renew the proposal; but times are changed, and the Jesuits are now firmly established in Schwyz without any one having had to give a penny to introduce them. The people, however, still appeared to me to have no very good will towards them. "They do no great harm at present," said one whom I spoke to, "but if they meddled in what did not concern them, we should be much more ready to drive them out than the Lucerne people would; and if we had not got them already we should not perhaps now be over ready to take them."

The speaker was the landlord of an hotel, and a man of sense and some information.

"They are sly fellows," he added, "and have not many true friends among the people, but they manage nevertheless to bring many into their net. They lend money, take mortgages, and buy things for a good price. They use much of our goods for their school too, and give employment to mechanics and tradespeople; and many strangers come to visit them whom they direct to the inns, whose landlords are on good terms with them. And you see, sir," said my informant, laughing, "that is the reason why I don't like to say much against them."

Thus the Jesuits have found means, by the powerful motive of self-interest, to attach many of the people to their party, and their adherents among the great families have often been attached by similar motives, put in action on a larger scale.

These chiefs are well aware that they could hardly have more efficient assistants in retaining the people in a state of blind submission, and guarding them from the infection of heretical notions in Church or State, which are pretty sure to come together.

One powerful means of preventing the

amalgamation of the separate Swiss cantons into one people, is to keep up the jealousy and distrust of the smaller cantons towards the greater, which has subsisted for centuries past, and is now as active as ever.

In the old time these smaller cantons formed the strength and the kernel of the Swiss Confederacy. Their wild valour decided the issue of battles; their leaders were foremost in Council; their people were flattered and sought after. But there came a change. The cities rose to the chief place in the league, and the little pastoral states became of less importance; their rude simplicity of manners and their high pretensions became a subject of ridicule, and the greater were the advances of the large cantons towards reform, the more and more striking became the contrast between them. In Schwyz and Uri, however, it is still an article of faith, which nothing can shake, that they are really the Swiss people *par excellence*, and I have more than once heard from them bitter lamentations concerning the degeneracy of the folks of Zurich and Berne.

There are in Schwyz, besides the parish

priests, about two hundred and four monks and nuns, which for so small a state may be reckoned a large number. There are Capuchin convents in Arth and Schwyz; on the Rigi an hospital, "St. Mary in the Snow;" a Dominican convent in Schwyz; a convent of Franciscan nuns in the Muetta Valley; a convent of Benedictine nuns in the Valley of the Alps; and the great Benedictine abbey in Einsiedeln, a wealthy establishment, to which a miraculous image of the Virgin has for many centuries attracted hundreds of visitors.

Very striking and peculiar is the effect produced by the wide range of buildings belonging to the abbey, as the wanderer climbs up from the Alpthal to the high sterile valley of Einsiedeln. The vast edifice rising suddenly before you in such a desolate wilderness, seems the product of enchantment; it is scarcely conceivable how such a work could have been completed in such a place. But the work went on for a thousand years, and the funds were supplied by tens of thousands of visitors, who have streamed hither from far and near, generation after generation, watering with their tears the sacred shrine, and often

dropping their last penny into the treasury of the abbey. The splendour of the edifice and the riches of its inhabitants are maintained also by means of farming (for the whole valley belongs to them), by dealing in cattle, by breweries, and other worldly methods of making money; but the contributions of pious pilgrims still form an important item in their revenue.

It is calculated that for the last three centuries, not less than a hundred thousand people have yearly visited the shrine of this sable Virgin, (probably an Egyptian figure of Isis, brought by some travelling merchant from the East); and in the year 1840 it proved, like the holy coat of Treves, more attractive than ever.

How shall we boast, when we hear of these things, of the enlightenment and civilisation of the nineteenth century? What hopes can we venture, in the face of these facts, to entertain for the future progress of our race?

The greater part of the poor pilgrims who through hunger, and fatigue, and privation, have found their way to these wild mountains on this errand have been Germans.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Origin of the Abbey—The Consecration—Pilgrims—The Clergy in Schwyz—Trade in Masses—The Abbey Church—Hamlet of Einsiedeln—Peculiar Industry—The Abbey at Twilight—The Chapel of the Dead—Devotional Games—Souls in Purgatory.

THE Abbey of Einsiedeln owes its origin to an ancestor of the present occupant of the Prussian throne.

A certain Count Meinrad, of Hohenzollern, had retired from the world and lived as a hermit among the mountains of Schwyz. Here, on the top of the Etzel, a pious lady of Altendorf built him a chapel and a cell; and the abbess of the convent of Frauenmunster, in Zurich, presented to him the miraculous image of the Virgin, to which Einsiedeln is indebted for all its wealth.

In the year 863, the pious Count Meinrad was murdered by two robbers; but the murderers were followed, according to tradition,

by ravens, who with beaks and claws, and perpetual screams, indicated what was their opinion of the transaction. The robbers were taken and executed in Zurich; and about a hundred and fifty years afterwards, Pope Benedict the Eighth placed the Count Meinrad in the catalogue of Saints: the convent arose on the spot where his remains were buried, and from that time to this sins have been expiated by prayers and penance at his grave.

The convent was built before the canonization of Meinrad in 940, by his successor in the hermitage, who had taken up his abode with a few companions in the Valley of Einsiedeln, in the hope of converting the wild Allemanni; and he had suffered much in this cause, even to the outrage of having his eyes put out.

The sacred edifice was completed by Eberhard, of Strasburg, Duke of the Franks, and was about to be consecrated by the Bishop of Constance, when it seems a new miracle occurred. "It was on the 14th of the autumn month, in the year of our Lord 948, that the holy Bishop had been called to a part of his diocese called Meinhard's Cell, in order to consecrate a cha-

pel to the honour of the blessed Virgin; but when, according to custom, he rose at the hour of midnight to prayer, he, and some religious persons who were with him, heard the sound of sweet voices singing, and on further search discovered that the altar in the chapel was surrounded by a choir of angels, who were singing the hymns usually sung at consecrations. The Bishop pondered much over this miracle; and when, the next day, he was urged to perform the ceremony, he related what he had seen. The brethren did not believe him—indeed, blamed him much, and would fain have insisted on his proceeding to the consecration; but, while they importuned the good Bishop, suddenly they heard a sound, and three times a mighty voice proclaimed, 'Cease, brethren, cease! for it is consecrated by God!'" Then none of course could doubt any longer.

Leo the Eighth now declared the consecration a full and perfect one, and forbade the repetition of the rite; and at the same time he promised forgiveness and remission of sins to all who would visit the spot and humbly confess their transgressions.

This angel's consecration is still celebrated by a festival held on the 14th of September, which is attended by many thousands of pilgrims, and sometimes lasts as much as fourteen days.

The old chapel, thus consecrated by heavenly ministration, was destroyed by the French in 1798, and not one stone left upon another; the abbey was shut up and the monks driven away. The new chapel that has been built in its place, however, is equally sacred; the shrine of the black Virgin, who now figures there in her gold-brocaded gown, equals the old one in miraculous power: and the long trains of pilgrims, singing hymns as they approach the spot, come up from the Lake of Zurich and drink of the holy spring in front of the convent, whose waters, the monks tell them, have a peculiar divine efficacy, and then on their knees crawl up the long flights of steps till they sink down before one of the altars, exhausted, yet ecstatically happy.

Who shall bear the blame, if thousands upon thousands of our countrymen are initiated into a vagabond life in their pilgrimages

to this distant alpine valley, and return as confirmed and idle beggars to their native land? Should not professedly enlightened governments take every means to remedy such a disorder, and bring the people to their senses? Should they not exert all their energies to repress this tendency to idleness—to coarse sensual fanaticism—this vain and superstitious seeking after supernatural assistance to reach heaven. Prohibitions, indeed, would do nothing; but real education—real instruction, might do much.

A great error, however, which sometimes prevails in Protestant countries, is the opinion that this nonsense of pilgrimages and indulgences, and all the abuses so cherished by monks and priests, are universally approved by Catholics. On the contrary, the enlightened among them are well aware of the terrible evils that have been occasioned to humanity by these delusions; and there are not a few noble-minded and clear-sighted men even among the Catholic clergy, who deeply regret that priestly covetousness and ambition should thus have perpetuated the blindness and folly of mankind, instead of

leading the way to truth and knowledge as became the servants of God.

The position of the Romish priesthood is in Schwyz more independent now than it was in the fourteenth century. In the year 1370, the clergy were expressly subjected to the temporal power in all but purely spiritual matters. In the year 1507, they were declared liable to taxation like the laity, and these ordinances were often renewed. At present the superintendence exercised by the state over the clergy is merely nominal; the people are still more sunk in superstition than they were four or five centuries back, and the monks perhaps even more impudent in their pretensions. I have been assured that the abbey of Einsiedeln keeps regular travellers like those of a commercial house, who traverse the countries of the Rhine, Alsace, the Black Forest, and Bavaria, and carrying on a regular trade in penances and masses.

These emissaries go from place to place, visiting the pious people who are perhaps unable to make the pilgrimage to Einsiedeln, but may be willing to lay out something for the benefit of masses said there to their account.

They accordingly bargain with the traveller for the required amount, pay the stipulated sum, and then he goes on his way to find another customer, and generally returns home with a full purse. What the precise amount is of the profit reaped from this branch of business, as well as from the offerings of the pilgrims, cannot of course be ascertained, but what with this and the extensive lands of the abbey, its flocks and herds, its alps, and its trade in cattle and wood, its revenue must be very considerable.

The convent is an imposing looking building, in which a regiment of monks might find room enough, though there are at present only seventy-eight of the brethren.

The Gymnasium or high school kept by monks is little visited; but their recently elected abbot, the fifteenth in succession, has established a school, where for a very trifling charge several hundreds of children receive board, lodging, and instruction. This institution is of course in some measure a rival to that of the Jesuits in Schwyz, for the present abbot is not, like his predecessor, a friend of the order.

The church in the centre of the convent with its two high towers, its ten altars, and its gorgeous decorations, can hardly fail to make a powerful impression, seen as it is in this remote and lonely valley, three thousand feet above the sea, surrounded by desolate mountains and dark woods. It is a large building, no less than 337 feet long by 116 broad; but beautiful it is not, in spite of its columns, and statues, and pictures, and relics. It has too much the effect of a gaily-coloured carpet, plastered all over as it is with groups of saints and angels in the coarsest colours. The taste and the style of its decoration may have been calculated to strike the fancy of the majority of its visitors, mostly people of the lower class, but they are little likely to find admirers among the more cultivated and refined.

In the year 1837 the entire building was newly painted, gilt, and decorated; and when you enter and contemplate the crowd of worshippers in smock-frocks, and jackets, and wooden shoes, beating their breasts, and uttering loud lamentations and supplications, and then gaze at the gorgeous temple and the priests, in their rich brocaded robes, while the

fragrance of the rising clouds of incense fills the vast hall, and the solemn chaunts fall on the ear, one can understand how, with all this pomp and splendour to intoxicate the senses, this church should have been able to maintain its power over a vast multitude of mankind.

And to how many saints and martyrs can the pilgrims to this abbey address their supplications! Almost every altar contains some of these precious bones. There is St. Meinrad, St. Placidus, St. Vitalis, St. Candida, St. Gregory, St. Cheritosa; and others, too numerous to mention, besides countless pictures and statues of other holy men and women; and, since every want has been provided for, there is an altar "especially recommended" to young married people, who flock hither to tie the nuptial knot, in the assurance that the union will then be happy and fruitful.

It is really marvellous how all this collection of relics can have been preserved, and church and convent so completely restored, after the terrible destruction caused by the French.

It appears, that, during the Revolution, several hundreds of the French priests had

taken refuge here; and afterwards these were joined by troops of noble emigrants of both sexes, who came to Einsiedeln partly for refuge, partly for the benefit of the intercession of its saints in their prayers for the restoration of the old state of things in France, and for a victory over her rebellious people. The abbey, therefore, became an especial object of hatred to the republican army; and they did not fail to wreak vengeance on it when they invaded Switzerland, and took it after an obstinate conflict on the *Rothen Thurm*. Its re-establishment must have cost a very large sum; but seldom has a capital been more profitably invested; indeed, they who of late have speculated in transactions of this nature have generally found a larger and more secure return, than those who have placed their money in steamboats or railroads.

The hamlet of Einsiedeln, which lies close to the abbey, shares in the profits of its staple trade, and indeed lives entirely by the pilgrims. Most of the house-owners keep some kind of inn or lodging-house; and there is scarcely one that will not contrive to make room for pilgrims when, as at the fes-

tival of the consecration, from twenty to thirty thousand people are assembled here. They carry on also a brisk trade in rosaries, images of the Virgin, and various saints, consecrated crosses, crucifixes, and bells; and prayer-books, devotional song-books, prints, &c. are sold in numerous booths, from which also the abbey draws a rent.

The pilgrim naturally wishes to take back with him at least some trifle as a *souvenir* from the spot, and will often part with his last penny rather than return without an image or a cross.

How considerable this trade is may be judged from the fact, that in this small village there are six printing offices and lithographic establishments, which employ sixteen presses, thirty masters, and a hundred workmen in making and colouring pictures of saints. Curiously enough, however, notwithstanding all the profit that it brings them, the inhabitants of Einsiedeln have for a long time stoutly contended against the power of the abbey, and maintained their ancient rights and independence. It may be that the crowds of strangers have brought with them the influ-

ences of more active life, or that the immediate neighbourhood of the abbey has afforded them an insight into many things that have remained concealed from the multitude. It is certain that they think more freely concerning the miracles, and the whole lumber of pilgrimages and absolutions, &c. than is agreeable to the monks. It is however but the case that has often occurred in Rome with the popes and cardinals, who, it is well known, have often been exposed to the keenest criticism from the Roman people.

A most strange impression was made upon me by the whole scene, as, in the evening at sunset, I left the abbey, and wandered along the path that crossed the grass towards the burying ground and the Chapel of the Dead. The flocks and herds were grazing on the plain—the convent bell was the only sound heard through the stillness of the evening—the beams of the sinking sun were still burning on the lofty pines above, and turning them to a glow of fire—a long train of priests, with the scholars of the Gymnasium, was moving slowly under the trees as far as the nearest hill-top, and then turned and went

back slowly to the convent. Their black forms, their long, flowing robes—the stately abbey with its massy towers—the little hamlet reposing beneath its shelter—the silent mountains with their wild ravines and gorges:—all seemed to transport me back into an age long past. Or one might dream that Time had lost his power in this strange alpine land; that while all over the world beside he was occupied with producing ceaseless change, here alone he had been constrained by some mightier force to renounce his restless nature, and stand still.

The walls of the Chapel of the Dead had a singular kind of furniture. All round, ranged in close rows on shelves, stood naked skulls, on the frontal bone of which was written in ink the name of the person to whom they once belonged, and of the year and the day in which their remains had returned to dust. Some belonged to persons who had not been dead ten years, so that artificial means must have been employed to free them from their natural covering. The remains of men and women, old and young, had been snatched from the repose of the grave, to present thus vividly to the eye

of the living the spectacle of their corruption. But there was another purpose in this singular collection. Most of these skulls bore the names of inhabitants of the hamlet, and it was clear to me that they had been placed here by their relatives, not only as memorials for themselves to pray for the departed souls, but also to recommend them to the prayers of pious pilgrims, in the hope of shortening their abode in the fires of purgatory.

A small box fastened to the wall, and containing a number of little printed tablets, confirmed me in that opinion. The pilgrims who come to the chapel draw out one of these tablets, and then choose a skull, either any one that strikes their fancy, or one whose former possessor may have been known to them, and they then perform before the altar of their patron saint the duty they have taken on themselves as a penance for sin.

I could not refrain from examining some of these tablets which were put together in a small case inscribed "Entertaining game for the help of the poor souls in purgatory." It was printed at the establishment of Bluntschli in Zug, a well-known firm, which produces a

vast number of these tools and helps to piety, to be found all over Catholic Switzerland.

I took out one of the cards, it ran as follows :—

"This day take to yourself the grace of meekness. Be gentle and compassionate. Hate sin but not sinful man. Struggle against self-love. Take for yourself the bonds of Christ, bound like a lamb with cords. To obtain this grace, pray five 'Our Fathers' and five 'Ave Marias' for the poor soul in purgatory for anger and impatience."

Another had the title of "The kingdom of Heaven;" and ran thus, "This day take to yourself the love of your neighbour; love him as yourself; especially him who is troublesome to you. Be gentle, compassionate, mild, and good; resist envy, and take for your weapon the *sceptre of Christ*. To obtain this grace pray six 'Our Fathers' and six 'Ave Marias' for the soul that was envious."

A third, inscribed "The Last Judgment," was to this effect, "This day figure to yourself the judgment of God, and the exact account you will have to give there. Place the death of Christ between your sins and the

divine justice; pray to the blessed Mary. To obtain this grace pray nine 'Our Fathers,' and nine 'Ave Marias,' for the soul that did not examine enough its thoughts, and words, and works."

The remaining contents of the box were all in the same style; and, considering the quantity of prayers obtained by one means or other for the specified poor souls, it is to be hoped that their unpleasant residence in purgatory would not be of long duration.

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